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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1900.

The Week.

"It may be wise to defer legislation for the establishment of a form of civil government in Porto Rico," says the *Tribune's* Washington correspondent. Lack of information is the ostensible reason for delay. The real reason is the threatened breach in the Republican party on the Porto Rican tariff bill, on the eve of the Presidential election. Already the party leaders have decided to postpone the decision of the Philippine question until some future time, and to clothe President McKinley with all the powers that Congress itself could exercise, thus making him an autocrat over ten millions of people on the other side of the globe. The convenience of this game of battledore and shuttlecock is apparent at a glance. The President went through the Northwestern States last autumn, telling the good people, in response to their inquiries, that it rested with Congress to determine the kind of government that the Filipinos should have, and that Congress had not yet had an opportunity to act on that question. There was some plausibility in this answer, and it satisfied the greater number of those who put questions to the President. Congress has now been in session more than three months, and has not dared to take up the question seriously. Neither does it dare to ignore it altogether. So it proposes, by the Spooner bill, to put it comfortably on Mr. McKinley's shoulders, or rather to leave it there, and postpone the real decision till some future time. And now, finding itself confronted with unexpected difficulties in Porto Rico, it is considering whether that would not be the best way to dispose of that problem also. The chances are rather against this decision, if it can be called a decision when there has been a complete failure to decide.

If Congress should dump the solution of the Porto Rican tariff problem on the President, what will the poor man do? He first declared that it was "our plain duty" to abolish all tariff between the island and the United States. When the sugar and tobacco men came to Washington and threatened him, he turned squarely around and actually urged Congressmen who had committed themselves to his free-trade policy, to turn around also. Congressman Sperry of Connecticut says in the *New Haven Register*:

"On the day of the vote, Mr. McKinley sent to me, asking me to come to the White House. He told me that he hoped every Republican would vote for the Porto Rican bill. He endorsed it thoroughly, he said.

At an earlier time, he continued, he had believed in free trade for Porto Rico, but he had changed his mind for certain definite reasons which he stated to me."

Similar statements have been made by Congressmen Watson of Indiana, and Morris of Minnesota, Weymouth of Massachusetts, and Prince of Illinois. Congressman Crumpacker of Indiana was also urged by the President to change his position. Now if the Senate fails to pass the House bill, and throws the whole question back on the President, what will Mr. Facing-both-ways do then?

The Porto Ricans may not know how to govern themselves, but they certainly know how to draw up a statement which leaves the President and the Republicans in Congress looking uncommonly sheepish and silly. In the letter of the island planters and merchants to Congress published on Tuesday, the Republican pretence that a tariff on Porto Rican products was absolutely necessary in order to provide "revenue," is punctured and left so flabby that it can hardly be inflated for use again. The men on the spot, who will have to pay the internal taxes, show how easy it would be to meet all necessary expenses of government without any tax whatever on trade with the United States. Such freedom of trade they appeal for both as a "right in equity," and as the only means of preventing the starvation of the natives. The combined logic and pathos of this plea must have a powerful effect upon opinion in this country, and should help to bring the Republicans at Washington to their senses. Into what a lamentable state of divided counsels and impotence they have been thrown by the attempt to extend the blessings of our rule to one small island, all the dispatches from the capital show. It is chaos come again in the Senate, and in the White House a wringing of helpless hands. So much for trying to escape plain duty. So much for "the wisdom of Congress" and "the wisdom of the President" eternally yielding the *pas* to each other, while organized greed steps in to assert control of both. In the distracted state of the party lies the best hope that the one clear and complete and honorable solution of the question will yet be reached—free trade. Everything else may be quarrelled over to the crack of doom; absolute throwing down of customs barriers is the only thing which can finally unite the warring factions. And no one need worry about the President. He will accept free trade, and then issue an "authorized statement" showing that the result was due to his far-sighted wisdom and firm courage.

One of the bitter complaints of the

Porto Ricans is, that the American government of the island gives all the fat offices to foreigners. Thus, we read in the *Diario de Puerto Rico* of February 13, in a list of the reasons why American rule has fallen into such disrepute:

"For the leading public positions Americans are brought here, on high salaries, and in many instances have been without either competence or integrity."

This, as is well known, is an old vice of Spanish colonial government. It was eloquently denounced by Senator Beveridge. Spain selected her colonial officials, he said, in fine disdain, "to placate members of the Cortes." Well, the American way is to select office-holders to placate members of the Senate. Mr. Beveridge himself has been duly placated by the appointment of his own father-in-law to a good office in Porto Rico. That gentleman, we learn, is well advanced in years, and had been an office-holder in Indiana of no special note. He was promptly "saddled upon the postal department of Porto Rico" by his high-sounding son-in-law. He is now very likely one of the officials who are embittering the Porto Ricans against the United States. That class of appointees was aptly characterized by Senator Beveridge (after he had been placated by his father-in-law's inclusion in it) as "the spawn of Government favor and Government fear, and, therefore, of Government iniquity." So dangerous is the gift of eloquence.

The opinion seems to prevail in high quarters that an ex-President of the United States is not at liberty to express dissent from the policy of any of his successors in that office, or that, if he does take that liberty, he must be considered a candidate for reelection. This rule has been applied to ex-President Harrison since he ventured to express dissent from the Porto Rican tariff bill. He is accused of seeking a renomination by fomenting discord in the party. If he cared to reply to such accusations, he might say that he is following the President's first definition of "our plain duty" to Porto Rico, and that if he has not been able to change his views of duty so frequently as the President has, the fault is with Mr. McKinley himself, who has not bulletined his changes, as a good commander ought to have done. How was Benjamin Harrison in Indianapolis to know the proper time to go in for a twenty-five per cent. tariff, and when to drop to fifteen per cent.? The Hon. Page Morris, M. C. from Minnesota, might easily find out by calling at the White House when the proper time had come. Other Congressmen could arrange their turnabouts with the same facility, but nobody could give the assurance to Mr. Harrison.

Therefore, he must either adhere to the President's first proclamation of "plain duty," or say nothing about a subject upon which all other men are talking rather earnestly.

Those Americans who, like Senator Beveridge and Representative Grosvenor, are revelling in the money which we are going to make out of the Philippine transaction, should be interested in some figures furnished by Mr. H. S. Nelson to the *World*. If we are to take a business-like view of the situation, we ought to have a debit as well as a credit page in our ledger, and Mr. Nelson furnishes some items for insertion in the debit column. The war with Spain began in April, 1898, and the expenses of our army to the end of that fiscal year, exclusive of river and harbor improvement, were about \$71,000,000, while those of the navy were nearly \$59,000,000. During a little more than two months our belligerent activity cost over \$95,000,000 more than was expended during the previous twelvemonth. In 1899 the cost of the military establishment, omitting river and harbor expenditure, was nearly \$214,000,000, and the cost of the navy was about \$64,000,000, making a total of \$277,700,000. Striking off \$70,000,000 as the cost of these departments in a normal year, we have over \$207,000,000 increase, and, making all possible deductions, the cost of the Philippine war in 1899 must be figured at nearly \$164,000,000. We do not know how much this war is costing at present, but we do know that for the year 1900 Congress appropriated for the pay of the military forces \$29,106,000, and that an additional sum of \$15,188,000 is now asked for, while the item of transportation, for which \$17,500,000 was allowed, now calls for \$20,000,000 more. Judging from the disbursements this year and the estimates for 1901, the Philippine war will cost us at the rate of \$90,000,000 for the army alone, while the increased charge for the navy and civil list will be at least \$10,000,000. What the pension bill will eventually be, cannot be foretold. Altogether, Mr. Nelson's estimate of \$550,000,000 as the cost of the war with Spain, with indefinitely enlarged annual expenses in the future, seems not excessive.

It is impossible to believe that the naval committee of the House would have dreamed of recommending sixty millions of dollars as the proper sum to be voted for new navy vessels this year. If the Administration had refrained from its plunge into Imperialism. This vast amount, if voted, together with the millions granted last year, and the millions which the army operations in the Philippines have thus far cost the country, alone come to a total which years of trade with Luzon and its neighbors will not counterbalance. Indeed,

the price we are paying for this "taking our place among the great nations" is being made plain, even to the most superficial thinkers, and the recent increase in the sickness and mortality in Gen. Otis's army is not without its effect. It is to be hoped that the naval bill will be carefully discussed in the House. Any debate must bring out the fact, demonstrated even by the antiquated Spanish guns, as is now widely believed, that land batteries well manned and equipped are sufficient for the defence of any harbor, and that our outlying island possessions are nothing but sources of great military weakness.

The application of the New York law for the taxation of the franchises of certain corporations raises questions of great difficulty. The law did not provide specific rules for assessing the value of these franchises, and the State Tax Commissioners have, perhaps unavoidably, proceeded in a somewhat arbitrary manner. Their assessments are generally objected to by the corporations affected, and there is every indication that very prolonged and expensive litigation will take place before the taxes are finally collected. As Senator Ford expresses the opinion that the corporations ought to pay as much as \$25,000,000 a year under this law, it is not to be expected that they would submit without a desperate struggle. The protests made by some of the corporations affected, if their statements of fact are correct, show that the valuations assumed by the Tax Commissioners are excessive. The Buffalo Electric Light Company asserts that its tax under this law would amount to 16 per cent. of its gross, and 30 per cent. of its net, earnings. The Cataract Power and Conduit Company, which is now paying dividends of from 4 to 5 per cent., after ten years during which no dividends were paid, is assessed at a figure which would make its taxes equal to half its dividends. Such taxation as this would amount to confiscation, and the situation shows the imperative necessity of adopting some general principle of valuation which shall work equitably.

It is to be hoped that the favorable report which the Assembly committee on cities is to make on the bill regulating the confession of judgments by the city of New York will be followed by prompt legislative action. No attorney-at-law can confess judgment without the written authority of his client, but the Law Department of this city recognizes no such restraint. The Corporation Counsel appears to rely on the decision made concerning the aqueduct claims, although it was assumed in that decision that the city authorities had specifically authorized the confession of judgment. It may be decided hereafter that all judgments against the city confessed without

such authority are void, but it would be a hopeless undertaking to try to get back the money which the city has once paid to creditors of this class. All doubt would be removed by the bill in question, which requires the approval of the Comptroller, and in some cases of the Mayor also, before any judgment can be entered against the city by consent. It is claimed by the *Brooklyn Eagle* that the provision in the "labor law" under which many city employees have made large claims against the city for back pay, has been repealed. The *Eagle* maintains that the present "prevailing rate of wages" law applies only to the case of men employed by contractors on public works. The language of the statute is, "Each contract to which the State or municipal corporation is a party" shall provide for the payment of the prevailing rate of wages. It is doubtful if this will be held inapplicable to contracts of employment made directly between the city and its employees, in which case the main argument of the *Eagle* would fail. But, as that journal points out, many of the claims allowed by the Corporation Counsel rest on very questionable definitions of the prevailing rate of wages. In fact, that rate, so far as claims against the city are concerned, is whatever it is declared to be by the trade unions.

The reception given to Comptroller Coler at the dinner of working men and women at Terrace Garden on Thursday evening was a most encouraging token of the growing belief of all classes that the power of Tammany Hall must be broken, or the city will be rendered uninhabitable by civilized beings. Nothing since Tweed's time has given the public such a shock as the attempted Ramapo swindle. Nothing at the Terrace Garden meeting called forth such shouts of approval as Mr. Coler's denunciation of the scheme to make the city dependent on a private company for its water supply. It is true that a few persons in the room who had pecuniary claims on the city which had been held up by the Comptroller for further examination, tried to disconcert him by hisses, but when the audience came to understand the cause of the interruption, their applause overwhelmed all opposition. Mr. Coler could not have asked for a more emphatic demonstration of approval of his course as a public officer. The meeting was a great success, not merely as an endorsement of honest government at home, but as a condemnation of Imperialism in the Philippines and in Porto Rico.

The political situation in Kentucky is still disquieting, and both sides are making military preparations. Gov. Taylor, we must say, does almost everything that he can to alienate conservative supporters outside the State. He damaged his case greatly by using mili-

tary force to prevent the meeting of the Legislature, and now he officially denounces the courts. He declares that, being composed almost entirely of Democratic judges, they have become "so partisan that it is practically, if not absolutely, impossible for any man not of their persuasion to obtain a fair trial. As organized, the courts are courts of conviction instead of courts of trial." On this ground Gov. Taylor has pardoned, before they were tried, several persons arrested on the charge of murdering Goebel. He says that he believes they are innocent, and that "designing men controlling the courts should not be enabled to shed the blood of innocent men." After these statements, he submits his course to the judgment of fair-minded people! If he desired a favorable judgment from that quarter, he should have waited until the courts had so acted as to make their iniquity evident. By an appeal which is, to say the least, premature, Gov. Taylor has prejudiced his cause. His future complaints will require corroboration before they can be regarded.

The large increase of wealth that has accrued to the Southern States since last fall from the great rise in the price of cotton, is scarcely appreciated by those not conversant with the cotton-growing industry. For the past three years the price has averaged 6 to 6½ cents per pound, and there has not been much profit in raising the staple. But now, largely by reason of the world's increasing consumption, the crop failure in India and the threatened failure in Egypt and in consequence of our own crop falling from 11,250,000 bales the past two years to 9,000,000 to 9,500,000 bales, the price has gone up to 9½ cents. The following table shows approximately the increase in the value of last season's crop, and what the ensuing season's yield would return at present prices, if another 11,000,000-bale crop should be raised, as seems likely from the fact that the acreage will be the largest on record, probably exceeding 26,000,000 acres:

Crop of 1899-1900 about 9,000,000 bales, 6,000,000 of which sold at average price, 7½ cents, or \$35 per bale, or	\$225,000,000
3,000,000 sold at average price of 9 cents, or \$45 per bale, or	135,000,000
Total value of crop	\$360,000,000
Crop of 1900 to 1901 likely to turn out, under favorable weather, 11,000,000. Farmers under present system of "future" trading could sell, for October to January delivery, at 8 cents or \$40 per bale	\$440,000,000
Total value two years' crops, as indicated	\$800,000,000

It was freely predicted in the South last autumn that if the price of cotton should reach eight cents per pound, the silver question would be shelved as a political issue in that section. If we may judge from the small interest taken in the pending currency bill by the Southern press and the Southern members of Congress, that prediction has already come true.

The career of Edward J. Phelps, who died on Friday, is a curious illustration of how national reputation in the United States may depend upon the result of a single election. In 1884 Mr. Phelps was a leading citizen of Vermont, who was highly esteemed throughout his State; but, except as lawyers throughout the country recognized his legal ability, he was a man unknown outside of Vermont. If the Republicans in that year had nominated a man of good character and carried the Presidential election, Mr. Phelps would doubtless have died with a reputation no wider than he then possessed. He had always been a Democrat, while Vermont was the strongest Republican State in the Union. He was thus debarred from holding office at home, and for a quarter of a century there had been no Democratic President to think of giving him a position in the Federal service. The nomination of Blaine by the Republicans resulted in the election of Cleveland, and the latter's selection of Mr. Phelps for Minister to England gave the great Vermont Democrat his opportunity. He improved it to the full, speedily vindicating the wisdom of his choice, and strengthening, year by year, the favorable impression which he early made upon both nations. He died full of years and honors, with citizens of both parties proud of public service in a high and difficult place.

Behind the German meat-inspection bill, with its threat of a tariff war with the United States, stands the Emperor's pet scheme, the new navy bill. He said recently that he did not want to be a "so-called constitutional monarch, who reigns but does not govern"; yet he has been forced to deal and dicker like any politician to get his naval plans accepted by the Reichstag. To win the votes of the Agrarians he has had to make terms with them; and their terms are the meat bill and other protectionist monstrosities. The price is seen to be impossibly high to pay for such support, and even with it the doubt grows daily whether the present Reichstag will give the Emperor his ships. Some of the pleas made for them are arousing ridicule. Thus, Count von Bülow, who usually speaks like a man of hard business sense, made a tearful appeal to the Reichstag the other day. Germania had two children, brother and sister, the Reichstag and the fleet. The older brother ought to come to the aid of his little sister. Excellent, cried Richter, but little sisters have a way of growing up and needing frightful sums for their clothes. And was not Von Bülow leaving out important members of the German happy family? There was big brother Army, who cost the household a pretty penny. Agriculture was a crying baby requiring constant care. In fact, said Richter, the family was grow-

ing at such a rate and was getting so expensive that the distracted *père de famille*—the taxpayer—was strongly thinking of suicide.

The particulars of the attempt recently made in the German Reichstag to repeal the "Dictatorial Paragraph" in the law prescribing the government of Alsace-Lorraine, have now come to hand. This paragraph gives the Statthalter nearly absolute power over the administration of the Reichsland, and its repeal was urged on the ground that friendly relations with France would thereby be encouraged. The repeal was opposed by the Imperial Chancellor for reasons which seem very feeble. He stated that he had himself been Statthalter for nine years, during which period the paragraph had occasioned very little friction. The provisions of the paragraph, he admitted, were only suitable for exceptional circumstances, and represented a continuous state of siege. In fact, the chief use of the paragraph appeared to be to furnish a grievance to malcontent agitators. This might seem to be an argument for its repeal, but the Imperial Government were unwilling to relinquish it so long as anti-German sentiments continued to be expressed. Exceptional circumstances might arise, the Chancellor said, and he continued: "Alsace-Lorraine is a border country. Our neighbors are excitable. . . . We acquired Alsace-Lorraine not by a *plébiscite*, but by force of arms. We mean to retain the land we have regained possession of, for that is our right." In spite of this declaration of its policy by the Government, the motion to repeal the paragraph was carried by a large majority, although there is little probability that the Government will give effect to the wishes of the Reichstag. The incident shows that the relations between Germany and France are really unchanged.

President Krüger's suit for peace is not likely to be any the less urgent for the British occupation of Bloemfontein. This he must have foreseen, as also the danger that the Dutch troops to the south may now be caught between two forces. It is also probable that the Free State will separately abandon the war and make peace, unless joint action to end hostilities be taken speedily by the two republics. As for terms, no one can know better than Krüger that his proposal to take more than the *status quo ante* is wholly inadmissible. His ultimatum last October ruled that out. Doubtless, having asked for peace, he is ready in the end to accept reasonable terms of peace. If these could now be offered in a generous and statesmanlike way, hostilities might cease very soon, and the world might be spared the horrible spectacle of a desperate last-ditch fight by the burghers.

THE REPUBLICAN IMBROGLIO.

The Republican party is now rent in so many different places and on so many different questions that it cannot possibly go into the coming Presidential campaign presenting a solid front to the enemy. It may win votes enough from the other side to make good its inevitable losses, but they will not be the same votes that carried it to victory four years ago. In the first place, it has lost all those who regard the new policy of Imperialism as a menace to free institutions—such men as ex-Gov. Boutwell, ex-Senator Henderson, Herbert Welsh, Edwin Burritt Smith, and other well-known men who have not been chronic Mugwumps, but have refused to follow the party in a path which they consider opposed to the foundation principles of the republic. Not all the men who have taken a decided stand against Imperialism will vote against the nominees of the party in the last extremity, but the greater part of them will either vote the Democratic ticket, or for a third party, or abstain from voting altogether.

This contingent, although not unimportant in numbers and influence, is small in comparison with the mass of those who have been roused to anger by the Porto Rican tariff bill, of whom ex-President Harrison and Congressmen McCall and Littlefield are types. These men believed that the fear of Imperialism was baseless. They assumed that the inhabitants of the new possessions were to be treated as members of one family, as citizens under one jurisdiction, as Americans, not as foreigners. They had heard the President say that it was our plain duty to treat them so. When the contrary doctrine was promulgated at Washington, and it was declared by a party vote in the House that the inhabitants of Porto Rico were regarded as aliens, and were to be taxed by us without representation, the scales fell from the eyes of thousands. The revolt in the party has been without precedent in magnitude and in spirit, and the breach is widening instead of closing. Of course, much depends on the action which the Senate is yet to take, but no compromise which puts Porto Rico on a different footing from the United States, as regards taxation, will do any good. The percentage of tax against Porto Rico is not of the least consequence.

These are not the only causes of heart-burning in the councils of the party, but the others could, perhaps, be smoothed over if these were absent. First among them is the ship-subsidy bill. At the beginning of the session it seemed likely that this scheme would be rushed through both houses, with nothing more than a perfunctory opposition on the part of the Democrats. The ground had been carefully prepared beforehand. All manner of so-called boards of trade in small prairie villages had been seen, and hoodwinked to pass resolutions favorable

to a measure of the details of which they had no knowledge, or any means of acquiring knowledge. But when Congressmen began to investigate it, some of them discovered that it was a bill to plunder the Treasury for the benefit of a few rich men, under pretence of doing something for the flag. Considering the party so far committed to the bill that they could only oppose it by indirection, they set themselves to the task of killing it by amendments and delay. The four Western members of the House committee having the bill in charge have declared their hope and expectation that a subsidy bill would pass, but have sought to amend it so that it should give as little ground as possible for the charge that it favors a shipping monopoly or a syndicate of rich men. The public have not been admitted to the contest in the two committees on this subject, or in the steering committee of the Senate, but there can be no doubt that there has been much tension. Where so much money is involved, it could not be otherwise. To this imbroglio the Porto Rican controversy has added fresh bitterness. It has supplied a new reason for not passing any subsidy bill, since the party has so many burdens to carry without it.

The Nicaragua Canal bill and the Hay-Pauncefote treaty constitute a fresh subject of party disagreement, but this can be shelved in a rational manner by saying that it will be wise to wait for the report of the Commission which is now investigating the whole question of interoceanic canal routes. It was the intention of the Maritime Company to rush its bill through regardless of the Commission, regardless of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, regardless even of Nicaragua. This would have been done had not the Hay-Pauncefote treaty been laid upon the Senate's table just in time to stop an act of incredible folly. Although the canal question may be shelved for the remainder of the present session, it cannot be kept out of the coming campaign. The Democrats have the coin of vantage, since they are not the party responsible for carrying on the government. They can show the conflict between the Hay-Pauncefote treaty and the Hepburn report, and will, no doubt, gain some votes thereby.

Another source of discord is found in the Quay case. The Republicans are now the majority of the Senate, and they will be held responsible for seating Quay if he is seated. The bad character of the man counts for more in the public mind than the principle involved in the case. It is proposed now to reverse a settled rule of the Senate in order to admit a very slippery customer to a seat in the Senate to which he has not been elected by the Legislature of his State, although that Legislature was in session when the vacancy occurred. It seems likely that

this will constitute another firebrand in the party.

SENATOR LODGE'S SPEECH.

With the historical matter in Senator Lodge's 7th of March speech (ill-omened date) on the Philippines we shall not deal; we agree with him that it is now of no use to cry over split milk. He himself did cry over it for the space of something like three hours, though he had not one new fact, only fresh pettifoggery, to offer. In his prophecies he is, of course, invulnerable, and we decline the unequal combat of predicting the future in rivalry with such a master of divination. Of his political and moral principles, as freshly avowed, it is enough to say that he has gone over completely to the pro-slavery doctrine of expansion by filibustering which Massachusetts and her Senators used to denounce as dangerous and unholy; and that, by his sophistications about the consent of the governed, he justifies the suppression of the negro vote in the South. This is odd coming from the erstwhile furious advocate of negro rights and the Force bill. But he no doubt would include his recent championship of manhood suffrage and equal rights for men of all colors among those "grievous mistakes" which, he says, we have all committed, yet from which we have risen, "bruised and grimed."

Senator Lodge's main proposition is that there is a complete analogy between the Louisiana purchase and the annexation of the Philippines. Hence his advocacy of a bill giving the President such powers in the Philippines as Jefferson was voted in Louisiana. But this claim to be following "well-settled American precedents" vanishes on examination of the facts. Louisiana was adjoining territory, certain at once to be developed by a large population homogeneous with that of the rest of the country. Both social and political "union" with the annexed inhabitants was what Jefferson wished, as conducive to "their happiness," so he wrote. Nothing of the kind is possible in the Philippines. There are other glaring disparities. The population of Louisiana at the time of the purchase was less than 50,000. If not wholly pleased with their transfer to the United States, the people were yet ready to make the best of the new relation. They were easily assimilable, and were soon assimilated. Yet Senator Lodge adduces their case as on all fours with the forcible annexation of 8,000,000 of people of an alien race, 7,000 miles away, who are fighting us tooth and nail! Whatever he may say as a statesman, we think that as an historian he must have private historic doubts about the exactness of his boasted parallel.

Mr. Lodge came out strong on the qualities of "the Asiatic mind." There is no "Asian mystery" for him. One

thing, he said, is simply fatal in dealing with Asiatics, and that is to make them a promise. A promise to the Asiatic mind is simply a "proof of weakness." Thereupon, in proof of his own weakness, Senator Lodge proceeded to make the Filipinos a whole string of promises. On one of them we shall comment in a moment. But this tendency to excuse tyrannical methods in the Orient is an old trick of Eastern conquerors. Burke exposed and denounced it in words which are a standing rebuke to this pretence. "Fraud, injustice, speculation, engendered in India," cried the indignant Irishman, when told that he knew nothing of "Indian detail," "are crimes of the same blood, family, and cast with those that are born and bred in England." The truth is, if we are to fit our methods to those of Asiatic despots, we shall have to begin by suppressing such speeches as Mr. Lodge's, with his talk about the powers of Congress and the limited authority of the President. What respect will the Asiatic mind have for a ruler who has to confess that a lot of talking men, including a writer of essays from Massachusetts, dictate his action? The Ameer of Afghanistan preferred the Russian alliance precisely on the ground that the Queen might be overruled by a set of speechifying Sahibs. "I and the Czar of Russia," he told the English Envoy, "are kings, and can do what we like." If Senator Lodge is to go the whole figure in this "Asiatic-mind" business, he will have to abolish the Senate and set up a Czar.

In one passage of his speech, Mr. Lodge was guilty of the jauntiest indiscretion. After saying that promises should never be made the Filipinos, he went on to make them this promise: "The land, which belongs to the people, and of which they have been robbed in the past, should be returned to them." Now, this can refer only to the lands acquired by the Catholic Church in the Philippines. Both Foreman and Worcester represent the amount of real estate held by the religious orders as very large. Lodge promises to return all this to the people. But there are two difficulties in the way. One of them is legal. The Treaty of Paris declares that the cession of the Philippines does not "in any respect impair the property or rights which by law belong to the peaceful possession of property of all kinds . . . of ecclesiastical or civil bodies." There we are, bound to make good the land titles of the religious orders. Judge Taft, we know, regards this question of church property as one of the immense difficulties before him. But Lodge lightly waves aside law and treaty, and says off-hand, "Let the land be returned to the people." But if he easily leaps over the legal difficulty, will he over the political? Will he go to that great city of Irish Catholics—Boston—and assert that the Catholic Church has been a "robber" in the Phi-

lippines, and should be made to disgorge? If he does, we think he will soon be numbering himself with those despicable persons of his speech who "distrust ourselves, shiver before our own greatness, and shrink from the responsibilities which come to us."

It has been rumored that Senator Hoar was only waiting for Lodge to speak in order to answer him. If he does rejoin to his colleague, he might truthfully say, as he did of Senator Beveridge's coarse and silly speech, that the junior Senator from Massachusetts had failed to utter one word about honor and right and freedom. His speech was one long exaltation of naked force. He closed with a pious citation of the old prayer, "Sicut patribus, sit Deus nobis." We might quote against him Latin of higher authority, and bid him, in the language of Scripture, beware "ne forte et Deo repugnare inveniamini."

THE GRAVEYARD OF GOOD TREATIES.

The United States Senate is rapidly establishing the reputation of being, not the ratifier, but the destroyer of good treaties. Its attempt to wreck the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, by indirection, is only the latest manifestation of its disposition to fling itself like a brute, unreasoning force athwart the progress of civilization. Consider some of the items in the Senate's inglorious record as the funeral director of treaties intended to heal ancient disputes and promote the cause of peace. In 1887 it killed the Chamberlain-Bayard treaty for the settlement of the fisheries controversy. In 1897 it buried the arbitration treaty, though appealed to by two Presidents of different parties, and by the entire religious press and moral sentiment of the country, to ratify that humane instrument. The Senate did, indeed, accept the Hague treaty, but did it, as it now appears, under a misapprehension. It thought one of the clauses could be used to help mediation in the Boer war. Otherwise, we may be sure, it would have thought and talked long, and made many grimaces, before committing itself to anything which looked like lessening the chances of international quarrels.

What is the reason for this obscurantist and obstructionist attitude of the Senate? Partly, the game of small politics. The Republicans defeated Mr. Cleveland's fisheries treaty on unconcealed partisan grounds. What, allow a Democratic President to point to an old trouble composed? Senator Edmunds guessed not. But it was a dangerous example. The constitutional power of one-third of the Senate to embarrass the Administration by blocking its treaties is too great a temptation for the latter-day Senator. Petty political intrigue is only too ready to make the greatest international and moral interests give way to the exigen-

cies of a campaign in a doubtful State. Then there is the overweening sense of importance on the part of Senators. Why were not their superhuman skill and knowledge consulted? This appears to be the present grievance of Senator Davis. Secretary Hay actually dared to negotiate a treaty without putting himself in the hands of the chairman of the foreign-relations committee of the Senate! This may be perfectly constitutional, but the Senate has changed all that, and will teach these upstart Secretaries where the real treaty-making power is now located.

There is also, we cannot help seeing, a faction in the Senate which is against all treaties that make for peace. It wants the sores left open. It prefers to nurse old quarrels. Especially with Great Britain, it wants no settlement whatever of any outstanding dispute. If Lord Salisbury were to put his name to a treaty quieting, because conceding, every possible American demand on every possible subject, this faction in the Senate would be bitterly opposed to it. There are some Senators who would oppose any settlement of any kind with England, simply because it is a settlement. The more the friends of peace say in favor of a treaty, the more suspect and hated it becomes in the eyes of these professional stirrers-up of international strife.

All the motives mentioned—partisan plotting, personal pique, and outright preference for international unrest—seem to have entered into the Senate's opposition to the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. The report of the foreign-relations committee professes to praise it; pretends to urge its ratification, but, by the proposed amendment, really plants a dagger under its fifth rib. Senator Morgan, in his dissenting report, states the exact truth when he says, "The only legal effect of the amendment is to annul the neutralization of the canal provided for in article 2 of the treaty." A glance at the terms is enough to show this. "None of the foregoing stipulations," reads the amendment, "shall apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing, by its own forces, the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order." That is to say, if it is "necessary" to shut the canal either in peace or war, or to levy discriminating tolls on shipping, or to blockade or to fortify the canal, the United States, while apparently binding itself to do none of these things, shall, in fact, be at liberty to do any or all of them. This is equivalent to proposing to kill the whole treaty. Even if Great Britain should accept it in the form suggested—which is inconceivable—it would be only a self-contradictory hodgepodge.

Senator Davis solemnly declares that his amendment merely takes over one of the articles of the Suez agreement which Mr. Hay had unaccountably overlooked.

We presume the Secretary would reply that he had not overlooked it, but had omitted it because it was wholly inapplicable. The Khedive needed certain rights of defence because Egypt in the case of the Suez Canal was the territorial power. The United States is not the territorial power at the Isthmus. We observe that the logical, but indiscreet, supporters of the Davis amendment see this point, but meet it by advocating an immediate seizure of the Isthmus so that we *shall* be the territorial power. Senator Davis will not thank such unscrupulous admirers for showing where his argument really leads. The purpose and use of the right of defence reserved for the Khedive of Egypt appeared at the time of Arabi Pasha's rebellion. It was feared then that the rebels would cut the canal, and forces had to be sent out to protect it. On one such expedition Prof. E. H. Palmer lost his life. For mere local policing of an Isthmian Canal, and protecting it against "lawlessness and disorder," the Hay-Pauncefote treaty makes ample provision, and vests the power to execute it in the United States. But nothing of that kind is aimed at by Senator Davis and the implacables behind him. They want to kill the whole treaty; or else to insert into it an ambiguous clause under cover of which we can break the promises we apparently give, and play the international ruffian at our pleasure.

It is clear, however, that this underhanded attempt to eviscerate the treaty will fail, if it is firmly opposed. The first outcry about the absolute need of fortifying the canal has subsided. Competent military opinion holds that the true defence of the canal in time of war is and must be naval. Admiral Dewey so maintains. Capt. Mahan does, also, we judge. This Davis amendment is, therefore, a final resort of subterfuge, a sort of last line of defence adopted by the enemies of a civilized canal. Secretary Hay, we understand, is not disposed to yield to them one inch or for an instant. But the President—aye, there's the rub. His backbone is all cartilaginous on this subject, too. A semi-official announcement states that Mr. McKinley cannot, of course, oppose his views to those of the Senate. "Would that I might live to see it!" said Goethe in 1827, speaking of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Most Americans share the aspiration; but with it they join the wish that they had a President who would stand by his Secretary, stand by his treaty, and insist upon having the canal built on such terms that it would be indeed a monument of peace. But if he does not—if pressure is not applied in such a way as to give him the semblance of standing firm—the treaty will be beaten, and be added to the collection of the lamented dead in the Senate's cemetery.

A LONG BATTLE ENDED.

The adoption by the Senate of the conference report on the currency bill, and, as we write, its assured adoption by the House, form a fit occasion for a review of the financial legislation of the country since specie payments were suspended, nearly forty years ago. The most impressive lesson it conveys is the old one about the descent to Avernus.

The suspension of specie payments took place in the month of December, 1861, in consequence of the civil war; the banks and the Government suspending simultaneously.

The legal-tender act was passed February 25, 1862. It provided for the issue of \$150,000,000 of United States notes to circulate as money. Another issue of \$150,000,000 was authorized by Congress June 7, 1862, and a third issue of \$100,000,000 January 17, 1863. These notes were convertible into United States bonds, bearing 6 per cent. interest, payable in coin, but this clause in the law was repealed March 3, 1863. This change in the law was recommended by Secretary Chase, but he lived to regret his action. In an opinion written by him as Chief Justice, he said that if the funding clause had been retained, specie payments would have been resumed automatically very soon after the close of the war. The greenbacks would have been converted into bonds. Gold and convertible banknotes would have flowed in to take their place. The transition would have come about in a natural way and would have been scarcely observed.

February 25, 1863, Congress passed the first national banking law. It was superseded by the more elaborate act of June 3, 1864.

June 17, 1864, Congress passed a law to prohibit speculation in gold or foreign exchange. It was a complete fiasco and was repealed July 2, 1864.

April 12, 1866, Congress passed a law authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to retire and cancel \$10,000,000 of United States notes within six months, and \$4,000,000 per month thereafter. This act was repealed February 4, 1868.

A controversy having arisen over the question whether the interest-bearing debt of the United States was payable in greenbacks, Congress passed a joint resolution, March 18, 1869, declaring that all Government obligations were payable in coin, unless the law under which they were issued expressly provided for some other payment. This was the first great controversy that grew out of the legal-tender act. It was bitter and long continued. Political parties made platforms in reference to this issue. Congresses and Presidents were elected upon it. The Greenbackers were finally beaten and driven out of the field, but they contended for the right to pay the bonds with greenbacks until after specie payments were resumed.

February 12, 1873, Congress passed a

law regulating the coinage. By this act the coinage of the silver dollar was discontinued, and the legal-tender faculty of silver coins was limited to five dollars in one payment (afterwards raised to ten dollars), and the gold dollar was made the unit of value. This act was passed unanimously in the Senate and with only 13 negative votes in the House. The author of the bill was the late John Jay Knox, Comptroller of the Currency. Neither he, nor anybody else at that time, anticipated the decline that afterwards took place in the price of silver. The silver dollar was then worth two cents more than the gold dollar. No silver dollars had been in circulation for thirty years. The only purpose of the bill was to consolidate and revise the coinage laws and bring them into conformity to facts. The act must be regarded a most fortunate one, although it led to one of the most protracted controversies on the money question that the country has ever seen.

April 22, 1874, Congress having passed an act to increase the amount of United States notes by \$44,000,000, President Grant vetoed it, and it was not passed over the veto. This was commonly called the "Inflation Bill."

January 4, 1875, Congress passed an act to provide for the resumption of specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879. It fell to the administration of President Hayes to carry this law into effect. John Sherman was Secretary of the Treasury. He acted in a very energetic and intelligent manner, and he was helped by a very favorable condition of the foreign trade of the country. Specie payments were resumed at the date named in the law. The premium on gold had disappeared before the time fixed for resumption. No gold was called for on the day when the Treasury doors were opened, and only \$11,000,000 of greenbacks were presented for redemption during the succeeding twelve months.

In 1876 the decline in the value of silver had become sufficiently marked to attract the attention of ambitious politicians and the so-called "debtor class." An agitation, led by the late R. P. Bland of Missouri, was started for the remonetization of that metal, which became the most important issue in politics. The Bland bill passed the House in 1877, was sent to the Senate, and there amended, on the motion of Senator Allison, so as to require the Government to buy at least \$2,000,000 worth of silver bullion per month, and coin it into dollars which should be legal tender, and pay the same for Government expenses, or to purchase more bullion. As thus amended the act was vetoed by President Hayes, and was passed over his veto February 28, 1878. The sum of \$378,166,793 was coined under it.

The act continued in force until July 14, 1890, when it was superseded by the

so-called Sherman act, which increased the Government's purchases of silver to 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month. In order to avoid the delay of coining, it was provided that legal-tender notes should be issued to the sellers of the silver, and that the bullion should be kept in the Treasury.

This act caused the panic of 1893. It continued in force until October 30 of that year, when it was repealed by Congress at a special session called by President Cleveland for that purpose.

Such is a brief résumé of a most prolonged and perilous controversy now brought to an end by the present currency bill, which makes gold the standard of value beyond dispute or peradventure. It imposes upon the Secretary of the Treasury the duty of redeeming the legal-tender notes in gold and maintaining the parity of all forms of money issued by the Government, and gives him ample means therefor. No political party can successfully assail this legislation during the next six years, and it is not likely that any party will desire to do so at the end of that time.

THE CUBAN SITUATION.

In his article in the *North American Review* for February, the republication of which in Havana has just caused such an outburst of indignation there, Major James E. Runcie thus summarized the history of the year of American government in Cuba under Gen. Brooke: "It is a record of error and neglect; of folly, ending necessarily in failure, and, possibly, in shame and disgrace. . . . After almost a year of American supremacy, Cuba is governed by Spanish methods. The only change has been in the substitution of Cubans for Spaniards as the administrators of the machinery of government." This was the deliberate conclusion of an able army officer and lawyer, put on paper without the slightest expectation of its publication, after a year and a half of unselfish and gratuitous labor on Gen. Wood's staff, on behalf of the Cubans.

If these words seem strong to those of his readers who have taken it for granted that the administrative successes achieved by Gen. Wood and his officers in the province of Santiago were paralleled throughout the island, they have but to read on to find many sound reasons for Major Runcie's forcible language. They will learn also the vitally important fact in the Cuban situation, that the responsibilities assumed by the United States require not merely the honest and able administration of the government, but radical social reforms as well, if the purposes for which the Americans intervened are to be accomplished, and the Cubans given a fair start in self-government. Even Gen. Wood's work in Santiago, as he would be the first to admit, was of a superficial

nature, since the fundamental laws and the governmental procedure can, of course, be altered, for the benefit of the entire island, only in Havana.

Major Runcie's sweeping charges relate to the American failure to grapple with the underlying reforms. Their publication, even though unauthorized by him and without his consent, and their truth, for as a whole they cannot be denied, brought down upon him the wrath of Washington officialdom long before they roused the Cubans to anger by their accompanying reflections upon the ability of the latter to govern themselves and to institute reforms. It was not timely that such revelations, even though hinted at when the new Governor went to Havana in December, should come just at the moment when the Porto Rican inhumanity led many loyal Republican newspapers to doubt the McKinley ability to solve the McKinley expansion problems. The article might even cause some uneasiness in the simple Filipino mind, should it follow Senator Beveridge's "traitorous" and sedition-making words across the Pacific.

With the arrival of Gen. Wood in Havana, a vigorous reformation of the imperfections in the machinery of government was begun. Commissions were appointed to revise the barbarities of Spanish legal procedure and the antiquated codes; to reorganize the judiciary; to adopt a modern charter for the cities of the island, with the especial purpose of returning to the municipalities some of the powers now centralized in Havana; to arrange for municipal elections; to reorganize the systems of finance and of taxation, perhaps the most difficult and vital problem of all; and to regulate and expedite the transfer of real estate. It has even been found necessary to go so far into social details as to prescribe the methods under which brokers shall conduct their business, and meanwhile the great humanitarian work of cleansing the cities and making their public institutions habitable has gone on unceasingly.

Secretary Root, however, will discover, in the course of his present trip to Cuba, that nothing more than substantial progress has been made in the short time of Gen. Wood's governorship. He may learn of Americans being confined two months before trial on what we should consider a police-court charge; he will hear that the Cubans caught months ago in robbing the custom-house are still unpunished, and that the courts have not yet learned to respect and use their new-found freedom from interference by the executive branch of the Government. He will find, too, that the new administration has embarked upon the very questionable policy of buying off and silencing clamorous Cuban agitators with offices and, in a very few cases, with sinecures; and that, being human, it is making still other mistakes. But Sec-

retary Root cannot fail to see that Gen. Wood, and not his cabinet, is the real ruler of Cuba to-day, and that he has made an excellent beginning along the right lines. Furthermore, it must become plain to him that the only true way to govern the island is to place the responsibility squarely upon the shoulders of the Governor-General, to remove him at once if he is not equal to it, and, what is most important of all, to back him up with a firm and definite policy, as long as he is in office. The dangerous silence as to the intentions of the United States, so fatal in the Philippines, has been happily broken by Gen. Wood's repeated declarations as to Cuban independence. Any attempt to run the island for the benefit of the Republican party in the approaching Presidential election, or any display of the changeability of opinion which has characterized the Administration's course in the Porto Rican question, will only place additional burdens upon Gen. Wood's shoulders, and again bring up that vision of failure and disgrace which stirred Major Runcie so deeply. It is bad enough now that an Assistant Secretary as head of an insular bureau should be in a position to interfere and to meddle, and that important pending reforms should be held up because of White House fears as to their effect upon Southern Republicans.

Gen. Wood's task and that of the United States in Cuba is to build a governmental structure from the bottom upward, which shall have greater elements of strength than any yet upraised south of Washington. The American spirit of honesty and fair play demands the working out of this problem without reference to any elections at home. The most skilled English colonial administrator might well think twice before undertaking a task requiring such infinite patience, diplomacy, and wisdom as the regeneration of the island; and if American ability is to solve the problem, the "powers that be" must place success in Cuba above personal ambition and party triumphs. Mr. McKinley has had, and has failed to take advantage of, some glorious opportunities. The chance offered him in Cuba, of rehabilitating and setting upon its feet a crushed people, suffering from a frightful heritage of ignorance, dishonesty, and crime, and of nursing into full bloom the strongly budding desire for national life and self-government, should stir even a politician's heart to a realization that there are better and nobler things in life than national aggrandizement and all the commerce of Cathay and the Indies combined.

POLITICS AND PLAYS IN IRELAND.

DUBLIN, February 26, 1900.

While the devil's work is proceeding in South Africa, and we may presume in the Philippines (though latterly we have thence

heard little), Irish affairs are not likely to be of absorbing interest outside our own shores. Yet they are not without their influence on your and imperial politics, and it may be allowable to devote a short space to them.

A reunion of Irish parties in the House of Commons has come about as unexpectedly, to most even of the "best informed," as did disunion nine years ago. An approaching general election, with the certainty of disaster to all parties if feuds were maintained, common sympathy for the Boers, and the extension of the United Irish League were doubtless the principal compulsions. It is all satisfactory, but it does not tend to increase our conception of the reasonableness of politics, that men who theoretically were sworn opponents two months ago, are now, with little real alteration in the situation of affairs on which they differed, sworn friends. The country has the Parliamentary union for which it is said to have been pining and praying. It remains to be seen whether it is still in the same temper as to Home Rule that it was when the split took place—whether increasing deadness upon that subject of late years has been due only to the want of Parliamentary union, or whether it may not rather be attributable to a general cooling of sentiment upon the subject. There is certainly apparent in Ireland a greater proportionate contempt for the constituted government than in any other country in the world but Finland. The exertions now having to be put forth by the moderates to return to Parliament their man as against the candidate of the extremists—the commander of an Irish regiment in the Boer service—is striking proof of this. The question is the real extent and basis of this contempt and dislike; whether, as without doubt successive reforms have circumscribed its volume, further changes, short of Home Rule, might not further circumscribe and eventually extinguish it altogether. To what extent is this dislike but upon the surface, or, where heart-felt, but in the minds of a generation passing away? Home Rule is undoubtedly desired, but is it desired to the degree of the curbing individual and class interests, and the curtailing of present pleasures, necessary for its accomplishment? Enthusiastic open-air meetings are held in favor of the Boers, but I remark at last night's fortnightly meeting of the Dublin Trades Council protests, not against Irishmen enlisting to fight them, but against military uniforms being manufactured in England rather than in Ireland. The progress of the war reveals that a larger proportion of our young men voluntarily take "the Saxon shilling" than of the men of other portions of the United Kingdom. Seldom has the world seen more sickening exhibitions of mock sentimentality and unreal feeling than Irish regiments leaving Ireland for the war, cheering for Mr. Krüger and singing "Who Fears to Speak of '98?" As to our commercial, official, and upper classes generally, the Jingoism out-Herods that of Great Britain. However, upon the whole, to the credit of our people it must be said that their sympathy for the Transvaal arises more from the absence of a domineering imperial spirit and the knowledge of what it is to be a small people, than from animosity towards England; and this sympathy is expended towards an almost exclusively Protestant people.

Meanwhile, whatever may be the course of politics, we are separated from our ante-Land League days almost as widely as you

are from your ante-bellum period. The uprising of twenty years ago has compelled a greater respect for the masses of our people than previously. There is an inclination in the upper classes to interest themselves as they never did before in the material prosperity of their poorer neighbors. The country never was so peaceable and free from crime. Moreover, a literary movement has taken hold of classes of our people. It is of it I desire mainly to write.

Irish is being generally studied as it never was before. Its process of rapid disappearance as a spoken language has been arrested. Next year's census will probably show an extension of its domain, not as one only spoken, but as spoken beside English. It is true that this movement is as yet confined mostly to Catholics. Some of the principal leaders of it are, however, Protestants, and there is no reason why there should be anything sectarian about it. Efforts are being made to encourage the study in schools, to make its preservation by those who already speak it a matter of pride rather than shame, and to insist that in Irish-speaking districts children shall be taught English through Irish, rather than, as heretofore, English merely by rote, and without proper understanding. Barring extravagant claims put forward by some, the movement is healthy and elevating. Multitudes of our young people of both sexes are coming together to cultivate and enrich their minds by the acquisition of a second language, and that a beautiful and expressive one. Irish, in the surroundings of most who are cultivating it, will give an interest to daily life such as it is not likely any other language could give; and in gatherings for the cultivation of Irish songs and music, hours are spent that otherwise would be less profitably employed. I am not at all sure that this sphere of thought, however little those engaged in it may be aware, does not tend to the obliteration of the national ideals struggled for during the past sixty years. The principal popular bookseller in Ireland lately told me that the sale of Irish primers, grammars, and reading-books is supplanting that of Davis's Poems, Sullivan's 'Story of Ireland,' and 'Speeches from the Dock.' There are now two weekly Irish papers and one monthly journal. Interesting current reading is being supplied where there was none formerly. Indeed, one of the causes of the discouragement of Irish study in parts of the country sixty years ago by the Catholic clergy is said to have been that the only available printed literature in Irish was then the publications of the various Protestant controversial societies—a propaganda that has long come to an end. It is interesting to note that one of the leaders in the movement in Ireland, a writer of vigorous idiomatic Irish, is a Scottish lady, who commenced the study but ten years ago.

Following upon the language cult has come that of the Irish Literary Theatre. W. B. Yeats, George Moore, Edward Martyn, Alice Milligan, and others are giving themselves to the production and presentation of plays supposed to be peculiarly expressive of Irish genius and sentiment. They are backed by an imposing list of guarantors of all classes and opinions—from Lord Dufferin and Lord Ardilaun to Mr. Healy; from John O'Leary, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. O'Brien to Mr. Lecky and Horace Plunkett. Many of us believe that there is in our people, more especially those of Celtic blood, a spirituality, a pre-

ference of the ideal to the coarser things of life, such as there is not among similar classes across the Channel. It would be difficult, however, to endorse the claims put forward by the enthusiasts of the Literary Theatre. In the last number of their magazine, *Beltaine* (Irish for "May"), against Matthew Arnold's estimate of England—"our upper classes materialized and dull, our middle classes purblind and hideous, our lower classes crude and brutal"—is set, "Ireland is virgin soil, yielding endless inspiration to the artist; and her people, uncontaminated by false ideals, are ready to receive the new art. . . . Dublin audiences have awakened to the insipidity of the modern English theatre." Again: "The best thing that could happen to the intellect of Ireland would be if England were blotted out of Ireland's sphere. English influence can be nothing but bad." Three of their plays, "The Bending of the Bough," "Maevé," "The Last Feast of the Fianna," have just been produced at our principal theatre. They were altogether charming; in their simplicity of presentation, and reliance rather upon interest in motive and dialogue, a refreshing change from the glare, glitter, artificiality, and cumbering attention to dress and scenery of the modern stage drama. To those acquainted with Irish legend there could scarcely be a more thrillingly beautiful piece than Miss Alice Milligan's "Last Feast of the Fianna." It is to be hoped some of these plays will be produced in the United States. They will doubtless appeal to many in English-speaking lands who would desire the stage to be more of a teacher and elevator, less of a mere amuser. But there has been nothing in their reception by the Dublin public, appealing in their motives as they specially did to them, to lead us to believe that Irish taste is in such matters superior to British taste. They were anything but well attended. "Good plays, poor houses" was the comment of one interested in theatrical property. A new English farcical comedy took their place this week, and the papers report the theatre as "crowded in every part."

Let us here encourage every movement likely to conduce to our improvement; but do not let us hug the delusion that we are so much more finely constituted than other peoples that we can safely dispense with the self-discipline and plodding essential to all peoples who desire to maintain a position in a practical work-a-day world. D. B.

Correspondence.

THE UNSELFISHNESS OF IMPERIALISM.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I was amused, in reading to-day the letter from Washington of a Republican correspondent to a Republican paper, to find in it the following assertion: "One thing is reasonably certain, and that is, that if called upon to surrender the protective tariff or the Philippines, the Republican party would give up the Philippines." This may be commended to the attention of those who think the Republican leaders are keeping these islands for the good of their inhabitants. As soon as the tariff is threatened, the corporations and manufacturing interests which control the Republican party threaten to abandon the

Philippines. What then will become of "benevolent assimilation"?

Yours sincerely, H. M. CLARKE.
ELDER, PA., March 9, 1900.

FELLOWSHIPS FOR WOMEN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The committee appointed to examine the applications for the European Fellowship which is awarded each year by the National Association of Women College Graduates, has again to report that no one of the professors who has written a letter of recommendation for a candidate, after saying, "She has shown marked originality," has added the phrase, "so rare in a woman." This information was regularly volunteered in the early years of this fellowship, and the fact that it has now fallen into desuetude may be taken as showing that women college graduates, as a class, have been found to show every bit as much capacity for original investigation at the end of their course of study as do men. That they also have an eager enthusiasm for work of that sort is evidenced by the increasingly large number of them who take it up, in spite of the financial obstacles which, as a general thing, it is harder for women to overcome than for men. This year, for instance, of the fifteen students who are studying at the School of Archaeology at Athens, four are women, and this proportion will be found to hold approximately at many centres of learning.

It is interesting to note each year in what terms distinguished professors speak of the candidates whom they recommend. This year, for instance, a Harvard professor says:

"As an undergraduate she distinguished herself in this subject, obtaining Honors. I have seldom had a pupil who equalled her in the accuracy, breadth, and largeness of view of her scholarship. She is at present, out of a large section of twenty-five graduate students, distinctly one of the very best. She has force and originality; and will, I am confident, make a distinguished record, and contribute to the advancement of learning."

Another writes: "She is one of the two or three best students I have ever had." A great German mathematician writes of one that she has "in meinem Seminar eifrig theilgenommen"—what we should have regarded a few years ago as an impossible feat for an American man during his first year in a German university. A professor writes: "She has a thoroughly logical and analytical mind" (with no word about this too being rare in a woman); and again: "She is one of the two most promising and able students whom I have had during my entire work since the opening of the University" (Chicago). They refer to "her unusual ability, her thorough training, her brilliant work"; they say:

"No reservations are needed; I have found her attainments, ability, and critical power distinctly exceptional and worthy of note; and she shows logical accuracy of the highest order." "As a matter of native endowment she possesses one of the most remarkable minds I have ever known"; "of extraordinary strength of mind, and has before her a brilliant career." "She has received the highest honors which the University could confer upon a student"; "this capacity is in no measure limited to her special subject—in no one of the branches required for her first degree did she fail to win high honors." "She possesses distinct originality, and gives promise of admirable results in research"; "the Association would be doing a genuine service in the promotion of investigation by giving her a fellowship." And to end with, this: "It is only justice to her

to say that she is decidedly the ablest student in this subject who has had connection with this university."

Lest it should be supposed that all this learning and ardor of research makes women disagreeable and pedantic, it is worth while to add one more quotation: "I venture to mention that few women are so likely to enjoy a successful academic career as Miss —, provided personal charm and beauty of character are of moment."

The Association has it in its power to offer only one fellowship. It solicits contributions, in order that scientific investigation may be promoted by putting women who have shown the most remarkable ability for original research into a position where their powers may be effective.

C. LADD FRANKLIN.

1507 PARK AVENUE, BALTIMORE,
March 10, 1900.

STUDENTS AND LIBRARIES IN BERLIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I cannot resist saying a few words in answer to the remarks in this week's *Nation* about the reading propensities of the students of the University of Berlin. Every student is a member of the University Library, from which he draws books of reference, classics, and all that is needed for scholarly work. Both this and the other great library—the Royal Library, to which students have free access also—are always thronged with students standing in long lines as they wait to receive their books. The Akademische Lesehalle, which is a private and privileged institution of the students themselves, is meant mainly to supply the magazines and fiction which the regular libraries consider beneath their dignity. Perhaps this may explain why only 335 out of 5,000 students subscribe, and why so few classics are taken out. Moreover, very few homes, even of the lower middle class, are without their Goethe, Schiller, Heine, and Shakspeare; and, apart from that, their plays are acted regularly. I myself have found among the students an enthusiasm and appreciation—an *absorption*—of the classics, that contrast strangely with the cold and superior spirit or impersonal criticism which has become so prevalent in our own schools and colleges. How and why Hermann Kantorowicz comes to give such a queer impression of this matter, I cannot understand; but all I have said is my own personal observation.

A FORMER STUDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

March 11, 1900.

Notes.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will issue during the present season only the large-paper edition of Edmund C. Stedman's 'American Anthology,' which has been delayed by the compiler's illness; the edition uniform with his 'Victorian Anthology' being deferred till the autumn. They will shortly publish also 'Notes on the Bacon-Shakspeare Question,' by the Hon. Charles Allen, particularly from the point of view of legal attainment; 'The Hôtel de Rambouillet and the Précieuses,' by Leon H. Vincent; and 'A Danvis Pioneer,' by Rowland E. Robinson.

D. Appleton & Co.'s March announcements include the fifth volume of Prof. McMaster's 'History of the People of the

United States,' reaching to the verge of the great anti-slavery conflict in Jackson's administration; 'The Principles of Taxation,' by the late David A. Wells; 'Bird Studies with a Camera,' by Frank M. Chapman; 'Stories of the Great Astronomers,' by Edward S. Holden; 'The Storied West Indies,' by F. A. Ober; 'A History of Russian Literature,' from the French of K. Walliszewski; and 'The Chronicles of Sir John Froissart,' an abridgment for children by Adam Singleton.

Dodd, Mead & Co. promise 'From Cape Town to Ladysmith,' by the late G. W. Steevens; 'Paris,' by Esther Singleton; 'A History of Scotland,' in three volumes, by Andrew Lang; 'Grey Stone and Porphyry,' verse by Prof. Harry Thurston Peck; 'English Embroidered Book Bindings,' by Cyril Davenport; and 'Down North,' travel in Nova Scotia, by Margaret W. Morley.

'Flame, Electricity, and the Camera,' by George Iles, a record of man's progress, is in the press of Doubleday, Page & Co.

E. P. Dutton & Co. will add to their "Master Musician Series" 'Bach,' by C. F. Abby Williams.

'Israel's Messianic Hope,' by Prof. George S. Goodspeed, and 'The Reign of Law,' by James Lane Allen, are further announcements by Macmillan Co.

Meyer Bros. & Co. will publish as the third volume of their "Philobiblon Series" 'Bibliomania in the Middle Ages,' by F. Somner Merryweather.

John Lane will issue "Flowers of Parnassus," illustrated booklets edited by F. B. Money-Coutts; and, as agent of the Vale Press, its new edition of Shakspeare's Plays, limited to 310 sets, of which 100 are for America.

A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, will shortly publish 'McLoughlin and Old Oregon,' an historical chapter, by Eva Emery Dye.

To the regret, we must suppose, of the Pacific Coast, Mr. Duxey removes his "Sign of the Lark" from San Francisco to New York in the course of the present month. His latest venture in publishing is an illustrated edition of Omar Khayyám's Quatrains, for which Miss Florence Lundborg of California furnishes designs that must stand comparison with Vedder's. They have been executed in line.

The Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, will change its Translations and Reprints from original sources (primarily intended for class use) to a series of volumes containing each the translation of some complete historical source or of selections from a single author, and edited with notes. The first volume will be 'Selections from the Writings of Zwingli,' by Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D. Herman V. Ames, Ph.D., will edit "State Documents on Federal Relations: The States and the United States," e. g., 'Interpretation of the Constitution prior to the War of 1812'; 'The Reserved Rights of the States, 1812-1832'; 'Nullification'; 'Slavery and the Constitution.'

For the Dante Society, Ginn & Co. announce, for May, Pio Rajna's Critical Text of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, by Paget Toynbee; a compilation of additions to the Harvard Dante collection by Theodore W. Koch and W. C. Lane; and Dante's references to *Æsop*, by Kenneth McKenzie.

A second edition of Prof. Karl Pearson's 'Grammar of Science' (Macmillan) makes a much bulkier volume than the first; but

the additions to it are inconsiderable. Prof. Pearson has contributed to the theory of evolution much that is of great value, in addition to highly important work in mathematical physics. But, notwithstanding that, the new edition of the present work, like the first, contains a good deal that is simply untenable. The author seeks to ally idealism and scientific philosophy—an attempt which is, in itself, altogether praiseworthy. But the work is not sound either on the one side or on the other.

Heinrich Hertz, who revolutionized current conceptions of electrical action by developing the theory of Maxwell, and who was incontestably one of the most extraordinary intellects that have illumined nineteenth-century science, left behind him, at his early death, an unfinished work, of which a translation now appears under the title of 'The Principles of Mechanics Presented in a New Form' (Macmillan). The manuscript had been laboriously edited, at the desire of the lamented author, by Prof. P. Lenard, and the present translation, by D. E. Jones and J. T. Walley, has received the care of Prof. Lenard. The book is an attempt to elaborate with a strict logic a conception of dynamics which excludes action at a distance, substituting for it concealed connections. Accordingly, we find energy defined as kinetic energy. At this rate our famous doctrine of energy is dissipated into thin air by being reduced to a mathematical truism. It is curious that the work is preceded by an introduction from the pen of Helmholtz, than whom, for all his ineluctable admiration of Hertz, nobody could naturally be less disposed to accept the doctrines of the present essay. Nothing in the notable volume better deserves to be pondered than this same introduction as a lesson in scientific calm and openness to every idea. A logician trained in modern conceptions will not have to read far in Hertz's Spinoza-like presentation to see that it abounds in logical crudities. But these are not inseparable from the doctrine; and perhaps continued health and vigor would have eliminated them before publication. It is certainly a book to be reckoned with and an historic monument. There is no complicated mathematics to be dreaded in it.

A contribution to the much-discussed question of the future of the small college comes to us in the shape of an address by the Rev. Henry Hopkins, D.D., of Kansas City, delivered at the Boston meeting of the International Congregational Council, last December, and now printed in pamphlet form. The address strikes us as special pleading rather than sufficient argument, but it will doubtless help to confirm the faith of some. While giving large praise to the university and its work, Dr. Hopkins emphatically believes that it is in the college, and not in the university, that the best all-round education for the average man or woman is still to be had. That so many men conspicuous in public affairs are graduates of small colleges seems to him to augur well for the future of those institutions. The question is, of course, two-sided. There are colleges and colleges. What Dr. Hopkins, and many others who take pronouncedly his view of the matter, fail to put with sufficient clearness, is the fact that we have in the United States an array of insignificant institutions (most of them, it must be admitted, established in

the interest of denominational aggrandizement), which fulfil no indispensable function, and which ought never to have existed at all. It is these superfluous enterprises, with the form but not the substance of sound learning, which most discredit our higher education, and bring the name of college into contempt. We quite agree with Dr. Hopkins that twenty million dollars bestowed in a lump upon some great university might, very likely, accomplish less for the educational welfare of the community than the same sum allotted to twenty small colleges; but we should wish to pick the colleges with care.

The twenty-seventh instalment of the Hatzfeld-Darmesteter 'Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française' (Paris: Ch. Delagrave) passes from S to T. The tract in question is rather remarkable for the non-appearance of new words in the quarter-century since Littré. In fact, we have noticed only *téléphone* (non-existent in 1875, although Littré has, in an older sense, *téléphonie* and *téléphonique*). The Academy in 1878 set its seal of approbation on a number of words and senses, mostly English, to be found in Littré, such as *spirite* and *spiritisme*, *steepie-chaise*, *stéréoscope*, *stériliser* (which fell into disuse in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was revived in the nineteenth), *stock*, and *thalweg*. *Sous-main*, *syndicat* (financial), *taille-plume*, *tandem*, *téléphone* are still unauthorized neologisms.

The first of eight large octavo volumes of a new 'Weltgeschichte' (Leipzig and Vienna: Bibliographisches Institut) has reached us through the publishers' agents in this city, Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner. The work is edited by Dr. Hans F. Helmolt of the Institut, with the collaboration of thirty specialists of good repute. The reasons which induced the editor to plan the work, contrary to all precedent, on an ethnogeographical rather than a chronological basis, and, beginning with America (according to Ratzel the "orient of the inhabited earth"), to proceed westward, reaching western Europe and the Atlantic Ocean last, are sufficiently explained in the preface and the introductory chapter. Two chapters, both very interesting, the one by Prof. J. Kohler (Berlin), the other by Prof. Friedrich Ratzel (Leipzig), deal with the general conditions of the life and development of man on the earth. Prof. J. Ranke (Munich) discusses the prehistoric times in about sixty pages. Then follows the history of North and South America from the earliest times to the present (368 pp.); and a brief chapter (30 pp.) on the historical significance of the Pacific Ocean, succeeded by a good index, completes the volume. Prof. Konrad Haebler's contribution to the volume (America) combines as well as could be expected the spirit of scientific research with the encyclopædic character conditioned by the general plan of the work; and his history of the United States, for example, may well afford pleasure with reliable information to the German readers of the 'Weltgeschichte.' Prof. Ratzel's statement (p. 69), however, that after the abolition of slavery "white masters emigrated and black ex-slaves immigrated, and the Black Belt of negro majorities from South Carolina to Texas was darkened" is to be challenged. The spelling "carpet-beggartum" (p. 568) no doubt results from an unintentional overdose of humor. The

strange form *kännte* for the preterite subjunctive of *kennen*, occurs at least three times in the volume.

The revival of historical study in the South has been one of the most gratifying symptoms of recent years. The South Carolina Historical Society, founded in 1855, has felt the impulse, has trebled its membership, engaged a secretary, treasurer, and librarian in one (A. S. Salley, jr.), and founded the quarterly *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (Charleston). Number one contains a list of members in which the names Barnwell, Bull, Calhoun, Gadsden, Gaillard, Grimké, Lowndes, McCrady, Memminger, Pinckney, Ravenel, Rhett, and Tillman occur, and a list of the Society's publications hitherto. There is a very interesting inedited letter from Jefferson to Judge William Johnson, June 12, 1823, noticeable for its recollections concerning the authorship of Washington's Farewell Address and its censure of Marshall; inedited papers touching Col. John Laurens's mission to Europe in 1781; papers of the first South Carolina Council of Safety; and a genealogy of the Bull Family. This is a vigorous beginning.

The *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, Peru (*trimestre primero*, 1899), contains a list of all the published works of Raimondi, embracing 87 items, exclusive of 14 maps, covering a period of extraordinary activity extending from 1853 to 1890. The announcement is also made that Sr. José Balta is preparing a critical study of the life and works of Raimondi, which promises to be of more importance than the brief appreciation, "La Obra de Raimondi," by Emiliano Llona. Although somewhat neglected in the latter part of his life, for which the savant himself was largely to blame, he has his reward now in an adoration by the Peruvians which amounts almost to a cult. Other articles of more than passing interest are the conclusion of J. T. Polo's synopsis of all recorded earthquakes and volcanic eruptions in Peru, and a brief but comprehensive account of the Department of Libertad, by Carlos B. Cisneros and Rómulo E. García, which is evidently an advance chapter of the next volume of their *Commercial Geography of South America*.

That sociological considerations, quite as much as educational, are involved in the modifications everywhere of secondary and higher education appears again from the debates in the Swedish Chambers on which Dr. Klinghardt reports in the *Zeitschrift für ausländisches Unterrichtswesen* (v., 2). As a result of these discussions the gymnasial course in Sweden is to undergo a radical change, the Latin being entirely relegated to the four upper classes. The Swedish gymnasium will then consist of a common substructure of five years, and a twofold superstructure of four years, one with and one without Latin—not unlike our own high school. Besides, there will be a sort of rounding-up one-year course for pupils who have gone through the first five years and do not intend to enter the higher courses—an innovation which would greatly benefit the many thousands who pass from our own grammar schools directly into life.

The *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington) for March contains a sketch of the Transvaal, in which the author, Mr. F. F. Hilder, dwells particularly on the native races, holding that the future of South Africa depends largely, not on the supre-

macy of any one European nation, but upon the manner in which the natives are treated by the whites. Surgeon-General Sternberg gives an historical review of the bubonic plague with many facts and statistics. He closes with an extract from a graphic account by Dr. L. F. Barker of Johns Hopkins University of a visit last year to Poona, India, where the deaths were 150 a day. "Such a rate of mortality in New York would mean about 10,000 deaths per day, 70,000 per week." Other articles are on the ice-cliffs on White River, Yukon Territory, and a hunting trip for walrus and reindeer in Northern Greenland.

An interesting account of the present condition of labor in Hawaii is given in the Consular Reports for February, showing the manner in which laborers are engaged, lodged, cared for, and paid. The Japanese, who are a little more than two-thirds of the whole number (36,000, it is said), can live on from \$4 to \$6 a month, or about half what it costs a Chinaman. There is also a description of the methods of cultivating cacao in Samoa, by an American planter, with an estimate of the possible profits in it. A report on the French wine crop refers to the immunity of the imported California vines from the phylloxera—"the small cicatrice that it leaves being filled with sap and closed as soon as made"—and adds, "No vine can be looked upon as worth cultivation until it is grafted with the American vine." On the other hand, the Consul at Tientsin reports that attempts to introduce American cotton into northern China, which produces a large quantity of native cotton, have proved a failure. The plant "grows to a luxuriant height, but it has no bolls." There is also a brief reference to the ten free household schools in Liège, nine being evening schools, in which girls from 12 to 13 years of age are taught "cooking, washing, mending, hygiene, household economy, and, in fact, everything relating to house-keeping. Of late, the care of little children has been added."

Corals, as is well known, form a large proportion of the fossils found in the palæozoic rocks of Canada. The classification and nomenclature of these corals, however, have been in a state of some confusion, and, with a view to remedying this, Mr. Lawrence M. Lambe has undertaken a revision of the genera and species. His report on the *Madreporearia perforata* and the *Aleyonaria*, with five plates, forms the first part of the fourth volume of "Contributions to Canadian Palæontology" published by the Geological Survey of Canada. He gives as complete a description as possible of structural characteristics, and attempts to show that some forms, hitherto considered of little value as regards the determination of the age of the deposits in which they occur, really indicate "definite horizons through the possession of distinctive structural peculiarities." The advances made in palæontology during recent years, and the new light thrown on some doubtful points, have necessitated the transfer of certain species to different genera, and have strengthened others in the positions already assigned them. A second part, illustrated by thirteen plates, is in preparation, and is intended to conclude the revision of this class so far as available material permits.

A year ago, some evening lectures on

Browning's poetry delivered at University College, London, by Mr. Stopford Brooke, excited a movement to provide for the regular delivery of such a course, as well as to testify to public appreciation of the distinguished lecturer. It is proposed to raise \$50,000 for the perpetual endowment of a Stopford Brooke Lectureship or Professorship of Literature or Poetry, he being the first incumbent during his pleasure. An English general committee has been formed, and an American auxiliary is in contemplation. Sir W. Besant, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Sidney Colvin, Dr. Furnivall, Dr. Garnett, Mr. Gosse, Mr. Henry James, Mr. George Meredith, Mr. Leslie Stephen are among the members of the former. Subscriptions may be sent to the Honorary Treasurer, J. Foster Howe, Holwood, Grove Park, Lee, London, S. E.

The University of Edinburgh, which has not hitherto conferred an honorary degree on a woman, will, it is announced, confer the degree of LL.D. on Eleanor A. Ormerod. Miss Ormerod has long been well known, not only as an entomologist of great learning, but also as one who has been the source of most important practical measures for the extermination of insect pests.

The late Daniel G. Brinton, the Americanist, is the latest addition to Mr. F. Gutekunst's (Philadelphia) gallery of imperial panel photographs.

—The *Atlantic* for March opens with Mr. Olney's much-heralded article on the "Growth of Our Foreign Policy." He begins, as all writers of his class do, with the statement that until within two years the characteristics of the foreign policy of the United States was "isolation"; isolation was brought to an end by our annexing the Philippines, which was a great mistake, but is now past talking about, because "the thing is done." "We are no longer an American Empire simply—we are become an Asiatic Empire also," and, so far from being isolated, are elbowing by armed neighbors on every side. What do we deduce from all this? Evidently that we need help. "Except for Great Britain's countenance," we should hardly have got the Philippines; except for her continued support, "our hold upon them would be likely to prove precarious, perhaps altogether unstable." It follows that "we now find ourselves actually caught in an entangling alliance" with Great Britain. Besides the English alliance, moreover, we must have plenty of guns and ships and a large standing army. Through this, however, we shall get an enlarged trade, because the simple Orientals trade by preference with those who make a great display of warlike resources. The only really strong thing in the article is the author's résumé of the reasons why the Philippine adventure is sure to be disadvantageous and dangerous; and if this paper represents the highest level of Massachusetts imperialistic thought, we should strongly recommend the "antia" to republish it as a tract, double-leading the passages which show the real nature of the scrape into which we have got. A political paper of considerable value is that on "British Shipping Subsidies," by J. W. Root, in which the author shows, by means of statistics, how absurd is the pretence that these subventions are anything more than reasonable payments for

carrying the mails. Mr. George McLean Harper has a readable article on "The Place of French Literature," in which he points out that the uniformity of the French language, in style and orthography, and the simplicity and neatness of its mechanism, make it the most useful of all to foreign students. Of all great literatures—and it is one of the greatest—French is most open and hospitable. It is only the degenerate writers of our own time "who have gathered slang and thieves' jargon from the gutters of Paris," and "the half-crazed decadent poets who, in their ignoble scramble for notoriety, have invented meaningless phrases"—"It is only through the deliberate efforts of these men that the French language has suffered any radical change in the last three hundred years."

—Scribner's publishes the second instalment of H. J. Whigham's narrative of the Boer war, which improves in interest as it goes on. "The Fighting with Methuen's Division" (Belmont, Gras Pan, and Modder River) is here described; and the reader gets a very good idea of these engagements, and of the nature of the campaign in general. The newspapers, notwithstanding their enormous enterprise, give us a very confused notion of the war, and we shall need to revise our impressions as time goes on. Nevertheless, this article confirms the general idea that Lord Methuen's advance was conducted with a wonderful disregard of all the conditions by which he was faced. At Modder River the Boers had an entrenched position extending for about three miles along the steep banks of the river, "having, therefore, not only plenty of material shelter, but a background of trees, which made them absolutely invisible to our advancing troops." In front of them was a field of fire extending for two miles to the horizon of their vision, with no cover. To the Boer in his trench, therefore, the advancing British soldier was an exposed target on the sky-line until he got within a thousand yards, and after that the ground was as flat as a cricket field. For the advance over this deadly plain, no preparation was made by a cannonade, and the British infantry "were well within the range of the enemy's rifle fire before the strength of his force was grasped." The attack was begun in broad daylight, and lasted all day. In the night, the Boers took away their guns and evacuated the position. They "left a position which seemed impregnable, and the march to Modder River was over." George F. Pentecost, Jr., has a paper on "The Renaissance of Landscape Architecture," accompanied by a plan based on Bacon's essay. The author is a lover of the Formal or Geometrical style, and insists that new interest is awakening in it. He admits, however, that the question in treating a site is not, Which is the superior style? but, Which treatment does the ground itself call for? To enable artifice to adopt or simulate the methods of nature, the scale must be large.

—The leading paper in the *Century* for March is an article by Ernest Seton-Thompson, illustrated by himself, on the "National Zoo at Washington," in which he makes a strong argument in favor of the preservation of all breeds of animals. Many boasted human inventions, he thinks, have been of less use to mankind than some animal, if preserved, might have been. Grateful as we

ever must be for gunpowder, Mr. Seton-Thompson is doubtful whether we owe it as much as we have lost in the extinction of the buffalo. We, to-day, "who deliberately exterminate any large and useful, possibly domesticable, wild animal may be doing more harm to the country than if we had robbed it of its navy." It is to be remembered that the total destruction of an organized being is irreparable, and that "each animal is in itself an inexhaustible volume of facts that man must have, to solve the great problem of knowing himself." It must be said for man that he is quite as ready to exterminate varieties of his own species as he is to destroy the brute creation. In another article, on "The Giant Indians of Tierra del Fuego," Dr. Frederick A. Cook of the Belgian antarctic expedition gives some account, illustrated with pictures made from his own photographs, of what is going on in that little-known part of the world. From this it seems that the Yaghans are already nearly extinct, and that the Onas, who have taken their place, are in a fair way to perish, being helped on the road to extermination by the white sheep-farmer and the missionary. There is no "Zoo" to preserve them, and before long these fine savages will be numbered among the races destroyed by civilization. It is amusing to see how the *entente* with England affects magazine literature. One of the old periodical English stand-bys was the article on the "Designs of Russia," showing how the progress of that Empire threatened the future of the world, and consequently must be checkmated. Formerly these vaticinations of disaster attracted but little attention in this country, and it was rather difficult for an American to understand why there was not as much room in the world for Russia as for some of her rivals. But since the Spanish-American war has opened our eyes to what the world really is, this Russophobic article now makes its appearance in our magazines. Under the title, "The Warfare of Railways in Asia," it may be found in the current *Century*. The author, on this occasion, is Alexander Hume Ford, and he shows conclusively that Russia is at her old tricks. She is "advancing" and "is almost ready once more to close her ever forward hand," and "again reach out for more"; but now, God be praised, "the Great Bear finds her way contested" by every other great Power in the world. The question is now, Who will get their railways built first? By "completing their routes," England, Italy, Germany, Japan, and the United States may "checkmate Russia"; but if we remain apathetic, and leave our routes uncompleted, "the Great Bear will have all Asia in the merciless grasp of his steel-shod claws, and no man can foretell the outcome." It hangs in the balance.

—"Moose-Hunting with the Tro-chu-tin" is the title of a descriptive paper in *Harper's*, by Tappan Adney, with illustrations by the author. The Tro-chu-tin are the Klondike Indians, and the paper is a lifelike account of a primitive winter hunt by a village community. The more one hears of Alaska, the more clearly one perceives that its government by the United States is a sort of constitutional fiction, at least so far as the Indians are concerned. They either shift for themselves, or else they apply for alms to the Alaska Commercial Company—and are told that the Company can do nothing for them. There seem to be no game-laws of

any kind, the Indians killing the cow-moose when they are heavy with young. Yet in Bering Sea we were maintaining the other day, at enormous expense, the proposition that sealing of this sort was *contra bonos mores*. Among the heavier articles, Capt. Mahan begins a discussion of "The Problem of Asia." So far as we are concerned, any one can hold what opinion he pleases about the future of Asia, but we must protest against Capt. Mahan's attempted reinforcement of his positions by false or misleading doctrines of public law, manufactured by himself for the occasion. For instance, in this article he undertakes to draw a line between matters which can be arbitrated and those which cannot, and lays it down that "when a difference between two States can be brought to the test of ascertained and defined right, this carries with it a strong presumption in favor of submission"; but "when a matter touches only *advantage*, not qualified by law or by prescription, and the question is one of expediency, it is justly and profitably considered in the light of self-preservation." (The italics are not his.) If this were true, then if England set up a claim to sovereignty in the United States, this being a matter of clearly ascertained and defined right, we ought to submit it to arbitration; while over a matter like the neutralization of the Isthmus Canal we ought to go to war and fight to the death. Hitherto publicists have maintained, and the course of history has been supposed to demonstrate, the exact opposite of Capt. Mahan's proposition—that matters of right, such as sovereignty, independence, and freedom, are worth fighting for, but that matters of expediency may be better compromised or arbitrated. Capt. Mahan must surely be aware that one of the arguments by which the arbitration treaty between this country and England was defeated was that we were threatened by it with having to submit fundamental questions of sovereignty and territory, and the attempt was made to exclude these by means of an amendment; both sides admitted that questions of mere expediency were fit subjects for arbitration. But we must be patient and humble with the reactionary writers who are expounding for us the new Jingo learning. From the nature of the case, they are, if possible, to persuade themselves that black is white.

—Eighteen large "colortype" plates, very well reproduced from water-colors by E. W. Deming, twice as many black-and-white drawings by the same artists, and accompanying nursery-keyed "stories" by Therese O. Deming, fulfil a showy and not unattractive album of "Indian Child-Life" (Stokes). The book is sympathetic in its attitude of introducing the baby original-American to the friendly consideration of the youthful new-American, and for its human tolerance is best worth while. The color schemes are nearly all decidedly good; the compositions generally pleasing. On the other hand, there is a surprising amount of very bad drawing and even more of impossible characterization. Such wooden anatomies as here persistently recur (for egregious examples, the elder Indian's neck, or the child's head and torso, in colorplates 8 and 2, respectively), of course, largely carry their own refutation. Even the young will outgrow any faith that Indians are so inhumanly framed. But such an irremediable jumble of tribal face-types and "properties" is more misleading; and it would be difficult to recall a

more serious offender in this regard. Not only is there no suggestion of Burbank's splendid type-portraiture or Lungren's almost prophetic interpretation of the arid atmospheres and landscapes, but no hint of the scrupulous regard to ethnographic truth which distinguishes these masters of the Southwest. It is all the more surprising that this carelessness of fact should inhabit with so sensitive a feeling for color. There never was a pueblo which resembled that pictured for "the Burro Race," nor any such cliff-dwelling as is here shown forth. No Pueblo woman ever wore such dress as all Mr. Deming's Pueblo women wear—nor is ever likely to; for, when she shall depart from the rigid convention of centuries, it will be to something very unlike his fashion-plate. She never even wore a dress of the color he finds most consonant with his scheme; and she cannot until she ceases to be a Pueblo Indian. Scores of these hopeless incompatibilities—facial, geographic, habilitmentary, architectural—make it most charitable to presume that the artist has relied mostly upon photographs which left much to the imagination.

—The International Society of Painters, Sculptors, and Gravers, in two years' time, has made a reputation for itself by giving by far the finest exhibitions of contemporary art held in London. It is appropriate, therefore, that its catalogue should also be the best as yet produced in England. Last year's, in its *édition de luxe* (London: William H. Ward & Co.), has just reached us, at a moment when it seems doubtful if the first and second shows will be followed by a third; at all events, none is announced for this coming spring. But to the work already accomplished by the Society the catalogue is a fitting monument. It proves that there are good engravers and printers in England, when they are wanted, just as the exhibitions proved that there are good artists, though they receive little, if any, official encouragement. Last year not a member of the Academy was on the Council, only one or two Academicians were among the contributors. But the Society, with Mr. Whistler as its President, already holds a position among artists that the Academy lost nearly a century ago and has never made the effort to regain. The first great merit of the Catalogue, therefore, is that it contains reproductions of pictures and drawings, prints and sculpture worth reproducing. But, more than this, the reproductions are excellent. There are a number of photogravures, chief among them Mr. Whistler's "Little Lady Sophie of Soho" as frontispiece; and all are fairly successful in suggesting the quality of the originals, great as the reduction has necessarily been. There are also numerous process blocks, clean and clear, and not the mere smudges with which the compiler of catalogues is too often content. It is the invention and development of half-tone, really, that has all but ruined the Salon catalogues. In the old days, the artists themselves often made amusing line drawings after their own pictures, but nowadays the camera does the work for them, and the engravers and the printer apparently do not think the results worth much trouble. But Messrs. Ward's blocks are good, and they, and also the photogravures and the well-arranged types, are admirably printed. Altogether the Catalogue is interesting, in itself and as an his-

torical record of a very striking and influential artistic venture. There is also an illustrated catalogue of the first year's show issued by Mr. Henschel in London, and, in the event of the Society's not making a third appearance in public, the two volumes together will have an additional attraction for the collector. However, it is to be hoped that the Society still has a great future before it.

—The Messrs. Putnam have reprinted for Mr. Archer M. Huntington the 'Relation du Voyage d'Espagne' of Mme. d'Aulnoy (1679), done into English shortly after its first appearance as a collection of letters. This "ingenious and diverting" narrative, as it is styled in its title-page, is here and there retarded by long-winded stories of casually encountered travellers, much after the fashion of the fiction of those days, as in 'Gil Blas,' for instance; but the rest is sufficiently lively to warrant Taine's desire of seeing the work rendered generally accessible to modern readers. In fact, it might well have been advisable not only to rewrite this somewhat slovenly seventeenth-century translation, but to add from its companion work, 'Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne,' a selection of passages further illustrative of manners of the time; for in the latter occur several of the episodes which give its piquancy to Taine's familiar essay. To cite but one instance, the anecdote of the cobbler who buys two superfluous pounds of dear salmon with the strut and swagger of an Hidalgo, for the silly vanity of making the stranger stare, is not found in the present volume. A biographical introduction sketches the historical and literary aspect of Spain in Mme. d'Aulnoy's day. We must point out, however, that the entertaining French woman wrote neither 'Contes des Fées,' nor 'L'Oiseau Bleu,' although the latter elementary mistake is countenanced in Dunlop's 'History of Fiction.' Her husband's name is commonly given as La Mothe, not La Motte; and the lady herself, here reduced to the rank of a baroness, is presented as a countess in several leading authorities.

HART'S CHASE.

Salmon Portland Chase. By Albert Bushnell Hart. (American Statesmen Series.) Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 16mo, pp. 465.

It is a pleasure to see the life of Mr. Chase in the popular handy-volume series of American Statesmen. The larger book published by Mr. Schuckers five and twenty years ago still remains a faithful and well-written guide to the study of the career of the statesman and judge; but Prof. Hart has had access to new materials and large files of intimate correspondence, and the lapse of time creates a demand for an estimate of the man in accordance with the fuller light and a more distant perspective. Mr. Hart, himself born an Ohioan, inheriting the great regard and respect for Mr. Chase which his family shared with the anti-slavery men of the last generation, is so well fitted by tradition, by education, and by his favorite studies to do justice to the subject of his memoir, that we feel at once that the task has fallen into the right hands.

Mr. Chase, like many men of large frame and muscle, was slow in maturing intellectually. The body, when rapidly growing and filling out, uses nature's forces so lavishly

that the brain must wait, or at least does wait, in many cases, till, the physical man being otherwise fully grown, the development of mind goes on with accelerated momentum far into middle life. The final result was, in his case, a constant gain in weight and power of thought and will, proportioned to the body and capable of responding to demands upon him in a way to produce the conviction that he was equal to the greatest occasion, and at his best when the juncture was most important and critical. This was a solid basis for leadership. His contemporaries Ewing and Giddings in his own State were men of similar mould, and so were Miller and Davis, his associates on the bench. Great latent strength and force marked them all, and all were formidable when aroused.

Mr. Chase formed high ideals in morals, early in life, and through his whole career was sincerely frank in bringing his private and public conduct to the test of true standards of right. Zeal for a cause might warp his judgment, or an ambition based upon a consciousness of his capacity to guide great affairs might at times mislead him and make him connect personal success too closely with public duty. Taken as a whole, however, his life was an example of no ordinary devotion to principle. An attempt to crush liberty of the press by mob law in Cincinnati in 1836 made him volunteer as counsel for James G. Birney, the eminent anti-slavery leader; and the conduct of the case worked such deep conviction as to right and duty that, from being the legal advocate of the oppressed, he passed on to a life-long devotion to the cause of negro emancipation. It seemed to be a renunciation of all selfish ambition in his profession or in politics, and the step was taken in full knowledge of the cost. In the progress of public affairs he came to hold party allegiance very lightly, but no exigency or temptation ever made him waver in devotion to the practical purpose of ridding the country of slavery, and of promoting the enlightenment and the citizenship of the freedmen.

Mr. Hart's sympathy with the cause to which Mr. Chase devoted his life never makes him an indiscriminating eulogist. He calmly weighs the motives and reasons for Mr. Chase's action in each phase of his career, and we feel that approval thus given may be accepted as justice and not favor or affection. In this spirit we are led through the stages of a brilliant public life—a senatorship conferred by a Legislature having little sympathy with anti-slavery doctrine; a splendid fight against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and in support of freedom in Kansas and Nebraska; a governorship busy with preparation for terrible contingencies; a ministership of finance with operations so vast and difficult as to make all preceding experience in this country trivial in the comparison; a chief-justiceship busied with reducing to order the laws and the administrative acts of a period of convulsion, and with the reconstruction of constitutional government in States recognized as belligerents in a great rebellion lasting for years. To find steady adherence to principle controlling such a career, to find broad and calm statesmanship dominating it, without panic or passion, to know that faith in his country's destiny never faltered, to see him as judge overruling, with calm and strong appeal to fundamental principles, conclusions which had made his great glory

in popular opinion as a minister of state—if these are not marks of a great character, where shall we find it? The final judgment of history may not approve the wisdom of every step or find every act free from human fallibility of motive; but it is so clear in the summing up that the ruling purpose was noble and patriotic, that carping at the few debatable incidents is silenced. We are sure that we are dealing with a life which ought to be and will be the pride of the nation, and which is worthy to be associated with that of Lincoln in permanent reverence.

Passing from the broader view of Mr. Hart's treatment to minor matters of detail, we occasionally find ourselves hesitating to accept the biographer's view. The statement (p. 34) that the prohibition of slavery by the Ordinance of 1787 did not apply to slaves already in the Northwest Territory, seems to go too far. The language of the Ordinance does not warrant it, and the most that can fairly be said is that there was for a time a tacit tolerance of slavery in the case of Southern visitors or squatters, and some hiring of slave-labor along the Ohio River.

In drawing a contrast between Mr. Chase's views and the more radical ones of Giddings (pp. 65, 66), Lysander Spooner is said to have "worked into logical form," in 1845, Mr. Chase's argument. But Spooner's book, so famous in that early controversy, was entitled 'The Unconstitutionality of Slavery,' and went the whole length of contending that, by fixed rules of legal interpretation, slavery had no constitutional existence, either in the national domain or in the several States; that it was within the power of Congress to sweep it away by law, and it was the duty of the judiciary to deny its lawful existence. Spooner was, therefore, the radical of radicals, and his position far beyond Chase's.

We cannot go with Mr. Hart in finding Chase involved in a contradiction by "declaring that the acts of Congress establishing slavery in the District [of Columbia] were void, and yet that Congress had power to repeal them" (p. 71). Surely unconstitutional laws ought to be removed from the statute-book. While they remain there they are a continual source of contention, and a ground for new revival of agitation in both legislatures and courts. But the only possible way of removing them is by repeal, and their unconstitutionality is the strongest of reasons for resorting to it.

The period of hesitation at the beginning of Lincoln's Presidency was not to be charged to the President or his cabinet as a fault. The more sure one might be that war must be the result of secession, the wiser it might also be to wait for the ripening of the public sentiment of the Northern people, and to let the secessionists assume the full responsibility of beginning the clash of arms. Such seems to have been Mr. Lincoln's attitude, with whom the practical was always a dominating idea. Mr. Chase, however, was more under the dominion of systematic theory, and love for self-government embarrassed him when it came to the question of forcibly suppressing a revolution organized by several States. His letter of April 20, 1861, which Mr. Hart quotes (p. 209), seems to us to show, not a "wavering judgment," but an adherence to what he fairly calls "a positive policy," viz., recognizing the Montgomery Government "as an accomplished revolution, accomplished

through the complicity of the late Administration, and letting that Confederacy try its experiment." Greeley, Gen. Scott, and others gave expression to the same thought in different forms. The more determined nationalists were so fully convinced that it was only a question of a short time, and that flagrant war was both inevitable and near, that they thought it was not worth while to debate whether this would be a war of conquest, or whether we could look forward to holding millions of people in a federal union they hated. We said, the occupation of national forts, arsenals, custom-houses, and navy-yards is war, and complete disintegration of the nation must follow unless we assert our nationality by arms. A quarrel over a demand to give up half the Western Territories, over the control of the navigation of the Mississippi, over the money value of public property in the hands of either party, would be no more a challenge to arms than the actual expulsion of national officers, civil, military, and judicial, from their functions in the insurrectionary States. Mr. Lincoln was believed to share this opinion, and to be watching for the evidence of support in it by a public sentiment he could rely on.

Mr. Chase's opinion was entirely consistent with readiness to wage war resolutely whenever it should be begun by aggressive military action on the part of the insurrectionists. Events moved so fast that the attack upon Fort Sumter, which gave Mr. Lincoln the indubitable assurance of popular support that he desired, was also the termination of the peaceful experiment which Mr. Chase favored. They were never apart in the practical question, What is to be done to-day? and the 12th of April found them equally in readiness to prosecute the war then made flagrant. This was not by change of "wavering" opinion, but by the logical outcome of the theoretic policy of each. Each may have thought the other was "drifting," but we can now see that neither was doing so.

The mental and personal characteristics of Lincoln and Chase were so different that it is not strange that chafing occurred. Chase's standards of deportment and of the gravity of thought proper to the conduct of great affairs made him impatient with the President. He evidently shared the error of nearly all the members of Congress in depreciating the abilities and statesmanship of Lincoln, by reason of their failure to see beneath the surface. When we add to this Mr. Chase's natural growth of confidence in his own powers, his increasing ambition to lead, and disposition to press his opinions on others, we do not wonder that the two great men drifted apart. This tendency culminated when the most active Unionists in Congress became hostile to the candidacy of Mr. Lincoln for a second term, and turned to Chase for a successor. From that time they were political rivals in fact, whatever efforts might be made to smooth their current relations. Lincoln's greater suavity and real kindness of character made the situation easier for him; but Mr. Chase was too vehement to maintain his self-control, especially when his own State very promptly declared for the renomination of the President. His pride and self-esteem met a rebuff which could not fail to humiliate and irritate. From that time matters ran on rapidly toward a separation. All this is treated with a firm yet delicate touch by

Mr. Hart, with fulness enough to make the attitude of the men sufficiently clear without belittling either of them by making too much of their differences. Justice is also done to Mr. Lincoln's characteristic magnanimity in the appointment of Mr. Chase to be Chief Justice. True loftiness of soul was shown in his superiority to all considerations but those of patriotism, and a sincere desire to place at the head of the Supreme Court a man who should combine a statesman's breadth of view with solid judicial ability.

The country soon found the benefit of this in being saved from the shame of making political differences about policy the ground of impeaching and removing a President. The partisans of impeachment were swift to claim to be the party of the Union, while they were only the most excited faction of it, and they began the denunciation of Chase as a renegade from party. To be above party in doing his judicial duty should have been, on the other hand, a new claim to honor.

When the legal-tender cases came before the court, the Chief Justice was forced to consider the constitutional validity of a law which, as Secretary of the Treasury, he had himself supported. The truth seems to be that his original opinion as Secretary had been adverse to making Treasury notes a legal tender. But, in the straits for money to carry on the war and in the face of the danger of destruction to the public credit, he was persuaded that the legal-tender act was the most promising measure for relief, and it was passed with his approval. The exigency of a great war for national existence was the only excuse for it. When all the departments of the government had proclaimed the end of the war and the restoration of peace, this exercise of war power continued with little prospect of repeal. Some of the leading politicians of the dominant party advocated even the substitution of the greenbacks for the funded debt of the country. Cases brought by private citizens were pending in the Supreme Court in which the decision necessarily involved the question of the constitutionality of the law when passed, its applicability to contracts previously made, and its continuing validity after peace had been officially declared.

It is safe to say that, as a statesman, the Chief Justice believed that Congress should have acted by making provision for the resumption of specie payments. This would have disposed of the most troublesome practical questions, and the court would have felt justified in avoiding the constitutional question by postponing decision till resumption should have solved the whole difficulty. Not only was no resumption then provided for, though the court delayed decision for a year, but the current seemed running toward the terrible dangers of fiat money. In these circumstances, studying the subject in the light of his experience as finance minister and of its historical development, Chief Justice Chase was convinced that he had erred in thinking the legal-tender law a necessity during the war. He believed that it had, in fact, been of no benefit in upholding the credit of the country, and had demonstrably failed in that which had been supposed to be its peculiar virtue, viz., the prevention of the depreciation of the Treasury notes as currency. The measure

had proved a mistake in fact. But the ground on which it had been defended was its necessity as a war measure for the national safety—not its supposed or imagined, or asserted, necessity, but its real necessity. Its constitutional support was found, by the judges who upheld the measure, in the war powers of the Government given by the fundamental law to do those things necessary for carrying on the war.

Mr. Hart seems to go too far in saying that the opinion of the Chief Justice in the *Hepburn* and *Griswold* case was "practically a legal defence for a change of mind which was founded really on financial and political considerations" (p. 394). The discussions of the consultation room had divided the court on the question of the necessity of the legal-tender act as a war measure. The judges were agreed that if it was unnecessary, it was unsupported by the war powers granted by the Constitution. On the question of the necessity, the experience of the Chief Justice as Secretary and the study he had given to the finances of the country made his opinion outweigh that of his colleagues. The intimation that it was weakened by his change of mind was only an argument *ad hominem*, which made it necessary for him to give reasons for the change. This he did not only with dignity, but with an avoidance of personal treatment that is remarkable.

The practical sense of intelligent laymen in close contact with the business community seized on the overturning of contract obligations as the fatal vice of the law. An editorial in the *Nation* of December 9, 1869 (before the decision by the court) may be taken as a fair index of such enlightened mercantile opinion, which great courts have often received as a good basis of mercantile law. Of the law itself it said: "It was undoubtedly a measure of injustice and spoliation, justifiable in the minds of the public by the supposed invincible necessities of war." It referred to the principle "that a contract is to be interpreted according to the intentions of the parties making it," recognized as fundamental law by every intelligent business man. Under this self-evident rule, it was declared to be indisputable, first, that contracts to pay money made before the passage of the act were contracts to pay coin; second, that, after the law passed, such contracts were intended to be in currency as defined by the law, unless the parties specified coin; third, that a system based only on the "invincible necessities of war" ought to terminate at the official declaration of peace, and *a fortiori* when the court of last resort should remove the asserted foundation upon the necessities of war. A reasonable consensus of the business community in such principles of action would remove all the practical difficulties, and save the assertion of the repellent doctrine that wanton destruction of the obligation of contracts is at the discretion of Congress.

The dangerous tendency of the doctrines held by the majority of the court on the rehearing was shown more plainly in Justice Bradley's concurring opinion than in the official one. He took the extraordinary ground that as the prohibition to the States to make anything but coin a legal tender was accompanied by no express prohibition on the Federal Government in the Constitution, "it must have been expected that it would issue them" (p. 407). This was, too, in the face of the declaration of the

Constitution itself against any such loose implication of powers, in the face of the fact that the inviolability of contracts was destroyed in the same fell swoop, and in the face of the strongest repudiation by the Constitutional Convention itself of the whole odious doctrine of paper legal tender. Ten days before this reversing decision, the *Nation* had published (April 21, 1870) a correspondent's full quotation from Elliot's Debates, of the warm expression of the Convention in this regard, and its decisive vote. In sharpest contrast to the words and the act of the Convention, Justice Bradley declared the making of Treasury notes a legal tender a merely "incidental power" following "almost as a matter of course" from the power to issue such notes at all (p. 407)! The power to make fiat money could hardly be more explicitly declared. Judicious men grieved over such revolutionary doctrine. Respect for the Chief Justice's sounder reasoning does not diminish with time and reflection. He did not swerve from the righteous judgment that the right of private property, like that of life and liberty, underlies the whole Constitution.

Although there was no party issue involved in this question, it became such by the subsequent drift of events, and Judge Chase was charged with abandoning the cause for which he had fought and labored as few others had done. The accusation itself tended to estrange him from old associates; and when he dallied with the idea of accepting a Democratic nomination for the Presidency upon his platform of universal freedom, suffrage, and amnesty, a retroactive hostility to him led many old friends to condemn a whole life of conduct based on patriotism, on deep study of republican institutions, and a wise judgment as to governmental guidance of affairs in a terrible crisis. He yielded somewhat to impatience at tendencies in the impeachment, in the dominant reconstruction policy, and in the greenback craze, and hurried into antagonism when it might have been wiser to await the clarifying process of political fermentation. He was alive to motives of personal ambition when he felt sure that he had the capacity and saw the way to guide affairs by a better standard, and ambition is most apt to be misleading. But as the gap widens between our time and his, the dominant purpose of his life comes into better perspective, the defects in his career seem comparatively trivial, and we recognize in him a great character and a patriot.

Literary Reminiscences. By Edouard Grenier. Translated from the French by Mrs. Abel Ram. London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: Macmillan. 1899.

French Portraits: Being Appreciations of the Writers of Young France. By Vance Thompson. Boston: Badger & Co. 1900.

To have lived as a privileged literary satellite, revolving in turn around most of the great luminaries of French Romanticism, constitutes a fair title to attention, even though the borrowed light gives out no dazzling glow. In the anecdotic recollections of M. Edouard Grenier, the brilliant array of creators and critics from Béranger to Sainte-Beuve, whose achievement relieves the dulness of one reign and conceals the

corruption of another, finds a faithful veteran admirer. We are told (p. 110) that "the present generation knows nothing about heroes and hero-worship"; in which remark we trust there lurks neither sarcasm nor irony. But many of us are yet capable of enjoying "belated confessions," innocent of malice or guile, and candid in their simplicity. There is some pleasure also in seeing justice done to men misrepresented by unsympathetic critics, or even through their own perverseness. Mérimée, for instance, is here presented as a charming companion, as the most considerate and obliging of friends. "The Parisian," says M. Grenier (p. 150), "is a thousand times better than he wishes to seem." Few men, indeed, are capable of such delicacy as Mérimée showed proof of, on hearing of the public communication of his outspoken pamphlet on Stendhal and the simultaneous smudging of his last private copy. Good service is also done in these memoirs by the demolishing of fanciful legends, as in the case of Heine. Gautier, carried away by his romantic imagination, gave to the German poet the face of a Greek god; and Mr. Stigand, a most partial biographer, refused to admit any serious blemishes in the character or conduct of his hero. But M. Grenier, who looked on Heine with the eyes of a man of the world and a diplomatist, saw in him "a good northern bourgeois, with a slight German accent." We discover, too, that Heine's boasted bilingualism was something of a myth, his celebrated articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* having invariably undergone correction from more competent hands; for which assistance, it would seem, adequate recognition was not commonly given, as M. Grenier found to his cost.

Of the latter's accuracy, in so far as his own recollections are concerned, there seems to be no doubt; but he occasionally goes astray in dealing with writers out of his more immediate ken. Lammenais, he says, "after he had forsaken the sanctuary, wrote 'Paroles d'un Croyant'" (p. 10). Now, this little volume followed immediately upon Lammenais's formal submission to the Church, and was intended by him as a definitive explanation of that act; but, seeing that the bull *Singulari nos* promptly condemned his work in the words, *Mole quidem exiguum, pravitate tamen ingentem*, all further connection with Rome became impossible for him thenceforth. In the case of Lamartine, George Sand, Montalembert, Nodier, the author's intimacy, having been closer, supplied the material for faithful, though not strikingly vivid, portraits. According to his own admissions, M. Grenier's lifelong devotion to literature manifested itself in early youth in the somewhat singular freak of composing letters or dedicatory verses to almost every one of these celebrities, none of which reached their destination, for the timidity of the writer invariably held them back at the very mouth of the post-box. Fortunately for him, the future offered opportunities for regular introductions. Such acquaintanceships must help to console one for the damper of being talked of for many years as a "candidat perpétuel" for the Academy. Want of success, however, leaves no real bitterness in these recollections by a genuinely modest survivor of the days in which it was still thought meet for the lesser man to own his lawful lords. Readers unacquainted with the original chapters in the *Revue Bleue* will find

in the present translation no inadequate substitute.

Mr. Vance Thompson, writing of to-day, belongs in almost every particular in a very different category. He has been preserved, he says, for many years "from the sin of inutile reading." In what respect this abstention can serve such "appreciations" as his profess to be, is primarily, not exclusively, his own concern. But a timely refreshing of one's memory of trite scraps or quotations—nay, the mere consulting of a dictionary—is not ordinarily deemed a hindrance to accurate literary work. The veriest "village-schoolmaster" critic, sneeringly girded at in his preface, might tell him that "gossip with Pym and Pistol" is neither simultaneously possible, nor profitable; and any schoolboy can point out the hackneyed phrase aimed at, but missed, in the futile barbarism of *et id omnes* (p. 66). Any one who assumes what Mr. Thompson seems to imply in the description of Georges Eekhoud as "semi-paganus," might surely have discovered for himself that Persius, in that expression, referred possibly to his own rustic surroundings, possibly to the *Paganalia*, or festivals taken part in by common dwellers in a *pogus*. Excusable though these slips may be, what warrant have we of the soundness of a critic's knowledge when we find him capable of writing *pointe du départ* (p. 51) in a work on French literature? And Walt Whitman, for whom boundless admiration is here professed, did not glory in a "barbarous yawp" (p. 115). This insecurity of touch increases as the themes recede the farther from easy grasp. "The ideographic hand is that of Mallarmé, but the voice is that of Beau Tibbs" (p. 226). Reading not altogether "inutile" teaches that Beau Tibbs is Goldsmith's conception of a shabby second-rate buck, while M. Robert de Montesquiou, the subject of this sarcasm, is, according to his critic, a "gentleman." The *Tristia* doubtless suggests a variety of impressions to readers of Ovid; did any one before now ever discover that in this poem the exile "sang like a nightingale" (p. 51)?

The essays composing this volume deal after their own fashion with the leaders in the now well-known symbolist and decadent movements, together with the chief writers of young Belgium, all more or less anti-academic, and not disinclined to carry the spirit of opposition into the sphere of such practical institutions as government, conventional morality, and society. These men, as the critic says in terms of his own invention, from being "improbable," have become "accomplices in the bright glory of France"; their names are Verlaine, Mallarmé, Maeterlinck, Verhaeren, Mendès (the last Parnassien), *et id omnes*, as Mr. Thompson will have it. Adopting for the most part their doctrine and practice of cultivating the new and bizarre, without reference to standards except by way of dissent, Mr. Thompson, like many other transplanted and only half-initiated critics, disposes summarily of traditions in regard to French prose and verse. For him, the old versification is "merely cadenced and T-square prose [p. 100] . . . Just as Poe created modern French prose, Whitman recreated modern French verse [p. 103]." It is true that in declaiming the verses of "Griseildis" Mme. Bartet, through occasional elisions of the mute *e*, demonstrated the possibility of recognizing more fully the value of the rhythmic accent in French versification of the

traditional type; the practice of the Comédie-Française also shows signs of modification; but it is much too soon to speak of recreation. More striking still are the facts that many of the "vers-libristes" are foreigners, and that their most uncompromising admirers are likewise of exotic origin. It is generally such extraction that leads a critic to curl the lip at "Théodore de Banville's *treaty of versification*" (p. 107). For every literary language possesses an inherent sound-quality, to the composite formation of which many elements have contributed, and which from this very complexity rarely reveals its subtler secrets to any but natives. They, even in revolt, never fall sooner or later to pay their tribute to this inflexible law. Not to speak of Richepin's 'Prière de l'Athée,' we need but glance over the following verses of Adolphe Retté, quoted by Mr. Thompson:

"Je m'arme; soulevé contre les sots moroses
Qui radotent de règle ou de lois qu'on impose,
Je sonne la révolte et je brandis l'idée
Pour la libre bataille et la libre épopée!"

A revolt so mild as this the conservative may contemplate with equanimity. He may receive in like spirit the cryptic utterances of Mallarmé, as interpreted by the author of 'French Portraits.' Mr. Thompson offers an elucidation (p. 20) of the sonnet

"Surgi de la croupe et du bond
D'une verrerie éphémère," etc.,

of which the verses are undeniably sonorous and sweet; but the unabashed Phillistine, after hearing that "Mr. Sharp is quite abroad and Mr. Moore halts" in their respective explanations of symbolism, will probably reply to Mr. Thompson's version, "Comment! c'est tout?" If a poet has so little at bottom to disclose, why so needlessly obscure on the surface? But Mallarmé, with his profoundly artistic sense, doubtless had something more elusive to tell, for the perfect comprehension of which specific habits of thought must be requisite, since no two schollars ever coincide.

It is pleasant to turn from the jaunty hastiness that marks such "appreciations," wherein it is casually declared that we are weary of serious critics and sick of fluent impressionism, to the capital marginal sketches, the real portraits, from which we can obtain some faithful presentment of at least the outside of a most interesting group of contemporary French authors.

History of Education. By Levi Seeley. American Book Co. 1899. 8vo, pp. 343.

Montaigne: The Education of Children. Selected, translated, and annotated by L. E. Rector. Appleton. 1899. 8vo, pp. 191.

Common Sense in Education and Teaching. By P. A. Barnett. Longmans, Green & Co. 1899. 8vo, pp. 321.

We hear in certain quarters praise too unstinted of modern school-books and methods of teaching. Such self-adulation is not wholesome; and there is another side to the question. Turn over a fair sample of the old school-books and compare them with ours, and see if what we are about to remark is not true. Take Priscian's Latin Grammar and compare it with the latest new-fangled English grammar; take the 'Summularum' of Petrus Hispanus, as compared with Miss Jones's 'Elements of Logic'; take the 'Colloquia' of Erasmus, as compared with Sauveur's 'Entretiens'; take Cataldi's Arithmetic, or even Recorde's 'Ground

of Artes,' as compared with Dunton's 'Arithmetic in Primary Schools' or Rickoff's 'Numbers Applied'; take Euclid's Elements as compared with Smith's 'Introductory Modern Geometry.' We are naming rather superior modern books, and not the very best of the old ones; yet the impression any cultivated man will get from the comparison is, if we mistake not, that of a certain intellectual and spiritual meagreness in the new treatises. We need not go back several centuries; there were books in use fifty years ago that had a certain atmosphere of the mountains—Peirce's Geometry, Whately's Logic, Reid's 'Intellectual Powers,' 'Philosophy in Sport Made Science in Earnest,' Stöckhardt's 'School of Chemistry,' Agassiz and Gould's 'Principles of Zoölogy,' Guizot's 'History of Civilization in France,' etc. We do not say there has not been great improvement, but it is not pure improvement. The old books were written by large men of rich spiritual culture and superabundant learning; the new ones are written by professional "educators" trained to a most mechanical understanding of some Herbartian system of pedagogics. It is enough to enter a modern school-room and see how these systems are applied, with the very minimum of genuine reflection and good sense on the part of the teacher, to understand at once why it is that the rising generation produce upon men now in the afternoon of life such an impression of feebleness.

The 'History of Education,' before us, written by an eminent professor of pedagogy, certainly displays considerable ability of such a kind as it is. That it is filled with such remarks as that the inductive method was "a great educational discovery" of Francis Bacon, that Bacon's 'Novum Organum' "revolutionized science," and the like, is too trifling a fault to be dwelt upon. But the manner in which the matter is prepared for the student, so that with no effort of thought he can gather skeleton generalizations of history, as clean of all food for further thought as they possibly could be picked, illustrates well the vice of modern pedagogical perfection. At the end of each chapter is a little summary of the lessons of history, drawn up in the form of a numbered list of items, each forming a little paragraph. Thus, under Charlemagne, we have:

"5. He believed in the education of women."

This is, no doubt, a fact to be remembered; but when the student is thus incited to cut it out of the historic picture, we fear he will lose the perspective that is the very essence of historical knowledge.

Dr. Rector has made a little book of the passages in Montaigne about bringing up children, to which he adds a most un-Montaigne-like elaborate topical analysis, a critical introduction ending with a list of twenty-one items of modern educational ideas found in Montaigne, and two very full indexes. The translation is rather free. It conveys the general sense, and in some degree the general air of Montaigne. The following is the shortest passage we light upon to illustrate this:

"Quant aux facultez naturelles qui sont en moy, dequoy c'est icy l'essay, je les sens flechir sous la charge; mes conceptions et mon jugement ne marchent qu'à tastons, chancelant, bronchant et chopant; et quand je suis allé le plus avant que je puis, si ne me suis-je aucunement satisfait: Je voy

encore du pais au de là: mais d'une veüe troublee, et en nuage, que je ne puis demesler."

This is Englished thus:

"Concerning my natural faculties, of which you behold an example, I perceive them to be indifferent. My fancy and my judgment march in an uncertain way—as it were, groping, staggering, and stumbling. And when I have gone as far as I can I have in no way satisfied myself. The further I sail the more land I descry, and that so dimmed with fogs and overcast with clouds my sight is weakened."

It is very refreshing to see a ray of common sense—that perfect wit which is perfectly true (contrary to Landor's dictum)—thrown by Mr. Barnett upon the pedagogic nonsense of the day. Not that we would subscribe to every opinion put forth. We incline to think, for example, that Mr. Barnett himself hardly understands the true purport of Herbart's four or (by the common reckoning) five formal steps in teaching much better than those whom he justly accuses of making too much fuss about them in their practice. If these steps are founded on psychological laws, they will always be present, whether we design to have them there or not. Take, for instance, a proposition of Euclid. The first step, that of Preparation, is found in the preceding propositions. The second step, of Presentation, appears in the general enunciation, followed by the construction and the application of the enunciation to that construction. The third step, Comparison, follows when the subsidiary lines are drawn and the different parts of the figure are considered, with the result for the construction. The fourth step, Abstraction, is taken when it is considered that the like would be true of any similar construction, so that the proposition may be stated in general terms. But the theorem is certainly not yet understood unless the pupil is able now to take for himself the fifth step, that of practical Application. Nor is the assimilation complete even then. A sixth step is requisite which we need not define. In short, there is a good deal in the book that might be improved; but, being a product of real observation and reflection, and not of a mere turning of the crank of a system, it is well worth reading. The very style of it makes us feel that we are out of the stifling air of the pedagogic school.

The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll (Rev. C. L. Dodgson). By Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, B.A. The Century Co. 1899.

The Story of Lewis Carroll. Told for Young People by the Real Alice in Wonderland, Miss Isa Bowman. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1900.

When the author of 'Alice in Wonderland' died two years ago, his admirers, on whom the sun never sets, were interested in hearing something of his personality. This had been successfully hidden behind his pen-name, not so much as the result of extraordinary efforts to conceal it as because there was not, after all, a great deal of it to conceal. We learned from the fugitive notices of the time that Lewis Carroll was really the Rev. Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, a Christ Church don and mathematical lecturer, and that his amiable life passed uneventfully in the exercise of an exquisite kindness and a slender mathematical talent. These facts, once known, fell back

into proper subordination to the only important fact connected with him—that he produced a masterpiece and one or two worthy successors of it. In these circumstances it would seem to most people that no permanent record of his private life was necessary. His nephew, Mr. Collingwood, has, however, furnished one, characterized rather by pious admiration than by a sense of proportion. Mr. Dodgson's acts of private kindness, his penchant for little girls, his indifference to little boys, his jests which were the life of the common-room, his objection to profane language, his method of making tea, his interest in the drama and in amateur photography, are chronicled with the affectionate and garrulous particularity generally associated with books printed for private circulation. The luminous nature of the biographer's literary comments may be illustrated by the following hint to the readers of 'Hiawatha's Photographing,' to which the author prefixed the words, "In an age of imitation I can claim no special merit for this slight attempt at doing what is known to be so easy." "It is not every one who has read this note," says the shrewd Mr. Collingwood, "who has observed that it is really in the same metre as the poem below it."

If the motive of this biographer was a somewhat naïf affection, Miss Bowman's was, we fear, of an even more personal character. It is well known that Alice Liddon, afterwards Mrs. Reginald Hargreaves, the daughter of the dean of Christ Church, was the original of Lewis Carroll's heroine. This fact makes the style of 'The Real Alice' assumed by Miss Bowman on her title-page a matter on which she might well have offered a word of explanation. She was, in point of fact, one of the child-actresses who presented "Alice" on the London stage, and enjoyed, as a result, the friendship and interest of Mr. Dodgson. Her little book contains some unpublished letters and verses of no great value, and is remarkable chiefly for a number of full-page illustrations representing Miss Bowman in various rôles, as well as in her proper character.

A History of the English Poor Law. Vol. III. From 1834 to the Present Time. Being a Supplementary Volume to 'A History of the English Poor Law,' by Sir George Nicholls. By Thomas Mackay. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1900.

As material for some future scientific history of the English Poor Law during the present century, this book is not without a certain value, for Mr. Mackay has been given access to a number of the unpublished papers of Nassau Senior, and he is thus able to throw a good deal of fresh light on the circumstances attending the passage of the great reform measure of 1834. For the rest, the book furnishes an abstract of subsequent legislation, and of the early reports of the Poor Law Commissioners, accompanied by a running comment, together with interesting though very inadequate chapters on a number of special topics, such as settlement, vagrancy, the education of pauper children, and the like. It is too limited in its range, too vague in its information, too unbalanced in its judgment to be the authoritative treatise for which we are waiting.

Mr. Mackay belongs to the severest school

of poor-relief restrictionists; even Nicholls and Babbage are not thorough-going enough for him. Any form of relief by the state he regards as an "anachronism"; he has a limitless faith in "the absorbent power of the economic system based on exchange." Even the experience of the Guardians in Whitechapel and some other East London "unions," who have abolished out-door relief by working in concert with the Charity Organization Society, has no lesson for him; he thinks that the Guardians can carry out "sound principles" without any such assistance, and he evidently believes that the Charity Organization Society has made a fundamental mistake in furnishing any direct relief from its own funds. Though he informs us that he was born seventy years after Nicholls, he is blessed by a self-confidence which would have been quite in keeping with an earlier epoch, and he does not hesitate to settle off-hand the problem of value in its relation to cost of production without any weak regard to the economists. How profound is his general culture may be judged from the fond imagination that his doctrine of the non-intervention of the state in the economic sphere is in harmony with "the Hegelian principle of liberty."

All this is a great pity. It not only disqualifies Mr. Mackay from writing objective history, but it prevents the lessons of 1834 from receiving the attention they well deserve. Fortunately, the cause which he has at heart is in abler and more prudent hands. Neither Mr. Bosanquet nor Mr. Loch supposes that he will commend his opposition to old-age pensions by falling foul of the factory acts.

What the purely scientific observer of English conditions and the English reformer alike want just now is an unbiased survey of the actual situation, district by district. Perhaps this is a task which transcends the power of one man; it may need to be intrusted to a band of investigators like the Assistant Commissioners who did such admirable work in 1832-4. We want to know to what extent private charity has intervened to prevent grave hardships in districts where the "workhouse test" has been rigidly applied. And, above all, we want some material whereon to found an opinion upon this point: Whether, given the sort of people who are likely to become Guardians, it is reasonable to expect the majority of them ever to be converted to the abolition of out-door relief. If not, that is a consideration for practical men to reckon with.

Homes and Haunts of the Pilgrim Fathers.

By Alexander Mackennal, D.D. With colored frontispiece and ninety-three illustrations from original drawings and photographs by Charles Whymper. London: The Religious Tract Society; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1899. Pp. 200.

"The purpose of this book," as frankly stated in its preface, "is to present to the reader—by means of a series of carefully planned illustrations—buildings, places, objects, and portraits in England and Holland indubitably associated with the Pilgrim Fathers." As such, it has very decided merits. Gainsborough, Scrooby, Austerfield, the Standish Country, Boston, Cambridge, Woburn, Southampton, Plymouth and the cities of Holland, have all yielded their har-

vest to the illustrator, and his subjects have been well chosen. No attempt has been made to depict scenes on this side of the Atlantic. The frontispiece, a view of Scrooby, is an excellent specimen of color-printing, while wash-drawings, pen-and-ink sketches, and photographs are well reproduced by "process" throughout the work. One naturally turns for comparison, however, to the volume by Mr. William H. Bartlett entitled 'The Pilgrim Fathers,' published forty-six years earlier than the work now under consideration, in which much the same scenes are depicted. As one glances over its steel-engravings and wood-cuts when fresh from an examination of the more recent volume, the first thought is that of the great change in illustration which half a century has wrought; and the second is the query whether, even if truth may have been the gainer, sentiment has not lost something of the charm of the earlier representations. The later volume is doubtless the more faithful, the earlier the more poetic.

The illustrations are accompanied by an attractively written, gossipy, descriptive letterpress, largely from the pens of Dr. Mackennal and of the artist, Mr. Whymper. It is a real addition to the value of the book. Some of Dr. Mackennal's observations are of decided interest to the American explorer of Pilgrim England. Speaking of the Scrooby-Austerfield region, he remarks of its modern inhabitants:

"The men whose haunts we come seeking are forgotten. Their emigration was so thorough that no tradition of them lingers in the place which once knew them so well. What calls itself tradition is the new play of a somewhat sluggish fancy. American visitors arrive in numbers every year; and from their questions and their talk fragments of story are picked up which the villager tries to associate with the familiar objects about him, but not with much success. He calls these modern Americans 'the Pilgrims'; he is very vague about the difference between the martyrs of Mary's reign and the persecuted in the times of Elizabeth. The exodus has been complete."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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Atkinson, Prof. G. F. Lessons in Botany. Henry Holt & Co.
Balzac's Letters to Madame Hanska. Boston: Hardy, Pratt & Co. \$1.50.
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Cornford, L. C. Robert Louis Stevenson. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.
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Friedman, I. K. Poor People: A Novel. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.
Gollancz, I. The Works of Shakespeare. [The Larger Temple Shakespeare.] London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan. Vols. VII. & VIII.
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